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Bosnia Peace Talks Resume in Geneva

AFP: 'Little Room for Optimism'

AU2911135793 Paris AFP in English 1255 GMT 29 Nov 93

[Text] Geneva, Nov 29 (AFP)—EC ministers met with the leaders of all the warring parties in former Yugoslavia here Monday [29 November] in a bid to rekindle peace efforts, but a Bosnian Serb refusal to consider any new territorial concessions in Bosnia left little room for optimism.

Belgian Foreign Minister Willy Claes opened the meeting with an appeal to belligerents to reconsider a peace plan worked out in September under which Bosnia-Herzegovina would be partitioned into autonomous Croat, Serb and Moslem ministates.

None of the players expressed any degree of optimism at the outset of the conference, the first meeting of all warring parties since the mostly-Moslem Bosnian Parliament rejected the September plan to end the 20-month-old war. In rejecting the plan, the parliament demanded that Bosnian Serbs hand over additional territory. Their position was taken up last week by the EC, which said international sanctions against Serbia could be eased if the Bosnian Serbs were to agree to some territorial concessions. But Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic rejected the initiative on Sunday [28 November].

EC negotiator Lord Owen warned last week that humanitarian aid could be cut off to the former Yugoslavia this spring if the warring parties could not reach a peace agreement, a threat repeated Monday by French Foreign Minister Alain Juppe. In an interview with the French business daily LES ECHOS, Juppe said UN troops might also be pulled out.

Claes, whose government holds the revolving EC Presidency, told the conference Monday that the EC was prepared to offer economic assistance and guarantees to uphold a peace deal. And, while not explicitly repeating these threats to cut off aid, he also warned that the international community would not understand the warring parties' "failure to seize upon the chance being offered to the parties to put an end to the tragedy."

Owen also said here Monday that he would make both "threats and promises" in the bid to get a compromise peace agreement worked out. Owen said he would "try and tell (the warring parties), what everybody but an idiot could tell, that this is a negotiable solution on offer here and there is no need to go on fighting".

UN mediator Thorvald Stoltenberg said in a message to the conference that the people of Bosnia faced another winter of war simply because of disagreement over "a small percentage of territory".

The EC ministers held a plenary session with the warring parties—including the presidents of Serbia, Montenegro, Croatia and Bosnia and the leaders of the Bosnian Serbs and Croats—before a series of bilaterals in which key EC players were to take on some of the warring parties individually. Observers from the United States, Russia and Turkey were also attending.

The latest plan from the EC, in line with proposals first put forward by France and Germany, calls for the gradual lifting of international sanctions against the rump Yugoslavia in exchange for further territorial concessions by the Bosnian Serbs.

The EC also wants further pledges from the warring parties not to interfere with humanitarian convoys and an undertaking by Croatia and Serbs in Croatia not to escalate their dispute over the Serb- held region of Krajina.

"The situation in Bosnia is so tragic and the possibilities of disaster this winter so strong that we felt that we had to make a renewed effort" to rekindle the peace process, British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd said on arriving here.

Hurd said he did not know if there were greater chances of peace now, but the EC "had to try" to end the war.

Spanish Foreign Minister Javier Solanas said, "We hope to give a new impulse from the humanitarian point of view and also from the political point of view."

Bosnia's Moslem President Alija Izetbegovic, for his part, said before leaving Sarajevo Sunday he would call on the UN to use force if necessary to get humanitarian through enemy lines.

Agenda for Talks Described

LD2911140893 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1301 GMT 29 Nov 93

[Text] Geneva, Nov 29 (TANJUG)—After a consultative meeting of the European Union (E.U.) foreign ministers with the co-chairmen of the Conference on the Former Yugoslavia in the Geneva Palais des Nations on Monday morning [29 November], a plenary session of all the participants in the latest round of peace talks on Bosnia started at noon on Monday.

The session is being held behind closed doors, while unofficial sources have said that the agenda includes three basic groups of issues: humanitarian aid to Bosnia, peace initiative by Juppe and Kinkel, and Krajina-Croatian relations. It is expected that negotiators will come at loggerheads primarily over the French-German peace initiative.

The latest proposal requests Bosnian Serbs to give more territorial concessions to Moslems, and the figure mentioned is 3.6 percent of the territories. It has been learned from circles close to the Moslem delegation that the delegation will firmly insist on this percentage and will not give in.

Prime Minister of the Moslem Government Haris Silajdzic has said that the Moslem delegation supports the E.U. initiative, but that it is not sufficient by itself. "Our demands are clear and if they are adopted, we might soon attain peace, or else, we shall face a difficult winter," Silajdzic said.

President of the Bosnian Serb Republic Radovan Karadzic, who is expected to give an answer to the Moslem demands in Geneva, has said it is wrong to talk about percentages. The attention should primarily focus on the quality of territories, he has said and added that the issue of Sarajevo and the Serbs' exit to the sea should first be resolved. Otherwise, Karadzic has said the Geneva package contains a solid basis for an agreement, pointing out to the necessity of creating three states within a union.

Co-chairman of the Peace Conference on the Former Yugoslavia Lord Owen said prior to today's talks that he would exert pressure on the warring sides in Bosnia by "threats and promises," in order to force them to reach a peace agreement before winter.

British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd was more explicit about the expectations regarding the latest round of the Geneva talks on Bosnia when he underlined that the European Community expected the initiative would be accepted by all the participants. Speaking about the sanctions, Hurd was categorical—only the suspension of some of them could be discussed, but not the lifting of all the sanctions.

Bilateral consultations of the participants will take place after the plenary session.

Milosevic Addresses Conference

LD2911152593 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1318 GMT 29 Nov 93

[Text] Geneva, 29 Nov (TANJUG)—Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, who is taking part in the international conference on former Yugoslavia in Geneva, addressed the participants of the meeting today saying:

"Mr. Chairman, Gentlemen,

The European Community has made many mistakes in the Yugoslav crisis. There is no need to list them. Your former representative, the chairman of the conference, Lord Carrington, has been publicly speaking about them recently, as have some of your predecessors, Ministers. I do not wish to presume what mistakes the current cochairmen or some of you will very soon talk about, although it is not very difficult to foresee it.

You have inflicted enormous damage on our country unjustly—or better to say by applying the supremacy of strength. The most tragic and lasting mistake which at the same time represents a crime against the entire people is the continuation of sanctions against Yugoslavia imposed by the crude violation of the UN Charter and in reprisal for the aggression we had not carried out. Maintaining the sanctions became particularly absurd as the civil war in Bosnia-Herzegovina continued because of the Muslim side's refusal to accept the peace plan, and it became even more absurd when the Muslims and Croats started waging an intensive war in which the Serbs are not taking part.

I do not understand how you are going to stop the Muslim-Croat fighting by applying sanctions against the Serbs, nor do I know how you will explain to your children, when they learn the truth, why you have been killing our children, why you have been waging a war against our 3 million children, and according to what right you turned 12 million citizens of Europe into victims of a genocide being perpetrated, I hope, for the last time in this century.

I can say something with certainty: Had you suspended the sanctions at least at the moment when the final document at the Geneva conference was coordinated, the Muslim leadership would have lost any motive to continue the war.

In the continuation of his address at the international conference on Yugoslavia in Geneva, Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic said:

"They are not going to accept any kind of peace as long as their hearts are being inspired by hopes that the international community will destroy Serbia by sanctions and thus enable them to win a war they have lost. Fortunately, effects of the genocide against the Serbs cannot render successful a policy which set Bosnia on fire and which has burned in it."

"Gentlemen, despite our extremely negative experience I wish to understand your current proposal as a positive step towards assuming a balanced attitude, although it is burdened with the previous approach of double standards. Despite that fact, I consider your proposal being motivated by the intention to help the restoration of peace. In this sense I would like to assure you that the shortest way to restore a fair and permanent peace is the following:

First, the sanctions should be suspended immediately, while the final lifting of sanctions should be linked with the implementation of the peace plan in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Second, agreement on the two remaining key issues should be reached immediately: in Serb-Muslim negotiations, the issue of Sarajevo; in Croat-Muslim negotiations, the issue of access to the sea. By resolving these two open issues everything else will become marginal to such an extent that nobody, literary nobody, will be able to justify continuing the war by this.

Third, all three sides should sign a cease-fire and its implementation should begin immediately.

The remaining, minor, unresolved issues may be successfully resolved on a bilateral or trilateral basis, on a basis of mutual and shared interests, following the

signing of the plan and during and after its implementation, in an atmosphere of reduced tensions and mutual cooperation.

It would be of decisive importance, gentlemen, for the success of the peace plan if objective and undisputable facts were formulated in the European Union's approach. Over the past several months the civil war in Bosnia-Herzegovina has been waged solely by the non-Serbian sides, Muslims and Croats, including the military involvement of Croatia. Throughout this year, Yugoslavia has contributed the largest share to the encouragement, continuity, and progress of the Geneva peace process. Because of these facts, implementation of sanctions against Yugoslavia should have ended a long time ago, which would have encouraged Yugoslavia to persevere in its consistent policy of peace and would have also discouraged the Muslim side and the foreign factors who support its continued opting for war.

Gentlemen, the moment you adopted a single attitude to the participants in the Yugoslav drama you will take a decision on peace, the Serbian president said in conclusion.

Kinkel Claims Support for EU Plan

LD2911144393 Hamburg DPA in German 1340 GMT 29 Nov 93

[Text] [no dateline as received]—Following the first round of talks with the warring parties in Geneva, Federal Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel said the approach taken in the proposals by the European Union [EU] foreign ministers is supported by presidents Franjo Tudjman (Croatia), Alija Izetbegovic (Bosnia-Herzegovina), and Slobodan Milosevic (Serbia). "The Twelve of us are of the opinion that this step is worth it," Kinkel said. Criticism is not justified at the moment: "Does anyone have a better idea?" he asked.

The question of whether and when sanctions would be eased depends solely on the reaction of the Serbs. The EU's position will be closely coordinated with the Americans. There will be "no moral concessions" to and "no presents" for the Serbs. The talks will continue this afternoon in bilateral working groups.

Bosnian Foreign Minister Cited

AU2911154193 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 29 Nov 93

[Statement by Bosnia-Herzegovina Foreign Minister Irfan Ljubijankic in Geneva on 29 November—recorded]

[Text] We expect the international community to finally [words indistinct]. After the arguments presented by Mr. Izetbegovic, it is obvious—all the facts point that way—that Bosnia-Herzegovina is a victim of aggression and that the international community, in its approach to Bosnia-Herzegovina, is violating some basic principles of the UN Charter and some documents of international law, particularly in view of the arms embargo, and equating the aggressor [words indistinct] of a sovereign country, a member of the United Nations.

We are awaiting the development of things with mild optimism, but to judge from what the Serb and the Croat sides have said, we do not expect significant progress.

Izetbegovic Presents Five Demands

AU2911161393 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 29 Nov 93

[Report by Nada al-Isa from Geneva]

[Text] We have come to Geneva to find a way to peace for long-suffering Bosnia-Herzegovina and its people. This was stated by Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina, at the peace negotiations which, as is known, were proposed by the EC ministers.

President Izetbegovic said that at least five conditions need to be fulfilled for peace to be established in Bosnia-Herzegovina: resolution of humanitarian problems; free roads for humanitarian corridors and convoys so that the aid can reach all those who need it; the return of all occupied territories; lifting the embargo on the import of arms imposed against the Bosnia-Herzegovina Government; and agreement on a transitional period of five years during which the international forces would guarantee peace. The demilitarization of Bosnia-Herzegovina would only be considered once its neighbors, primarily Croatia and Serbia, are demilitarized.

President Izetbegovic explained these demands by saying that the Serbs cannot make a Serbian republic from the Bosniak territories on which they committed genocide and carried out ethnic cleansing. The Croats cannot keep Bosnia-Herzegovina's only exit to the sea for themselves. The Bosnia-Herzegovina Government demands an exit to the sea at Neum. So, this is not some abstract right, but a territorial approach. [sentence as heard]

If the Croats and the Serbs do not accept these minimal justified demands, then the sanctions should be stepped up against Serbia and introduced against Croatia.

The embargo against the Bosnia-Herzegovina Government on the import of arms should be lifted so that it can defend itself against attackers, of which there are now two. The Serbs are bringing fresh forces near Olovo and Brcko, while the columns of the Croatian Army are moving toward Bosnia-Herzegovina, President Izetbegovic warned the participants in the Geneva talks.

The Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina must have arms, because the army is the only guarantor of peace. Therefore, the Bosnia-Herzegovina Government cannot accept demilitarization until the Republic of Croatia and Serbia are demilitarized. Serbia must pull out its army over the Drina River.

If a peace agreement is reached, this peace will have to be guaranteed by international forces—that is, NATO—with the full participation of the U.S. Army, President Izetbegovic said. This transitional period of international guarantees could last at least five years. These are clear views and demands of the delegation of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

We learned in the diplomatic circles in Geneva that all sides stuck to their fairly rigid stands. The Croatian and the Serbian sides did not have arguments for their demands. For instance, Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic accused Europe and the international community of using threats in the settlement of the so-called Yugoslav crisis from the very beginning, and, as he said, of unjustly introducing sanctions on Serbia.

Reacting to Milosevic's demand for the sanctions to be lifted, Willy Claes, chairman of the EC Ministerial Council, said that he did not agree with the demand.

We learned from the meager and rare statements by the diplomats in Geneva that no discussion, talks, or outwitting have been held on the territorial delineation in Bosnia-Herzegovina. We have unofficially learned that the vaguest of all was in fact Croatian President Tudjman, who said that he supported the EC peace proposals, even the mysterious modus vivendi for the UN protected zones in Croatia. He explained his rejection of giving Neum to the Bosnian Republic by saying that this location is not suitable for a port because of, as Tudjman said, natural conditions, and claiming that Neum would be an exit to the sea for the entire Bosnia-Herzegovina union. [sentence as heard] He would rather see it in the Croatian Republic. Nevertheless, these are only Croatia's unfounded wishes which have no arguments in their favor.

TANJUG on Izetbegovic's 'Ultimatums'

LD2911211393 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2039 GMT 29 Nov 93

[Text] Geneva, Nov 29 (TANJUG)—Speaking at a plenary session of a conference on Bosnia-Herzegovina on Monday, Bosnian Moslem Leader Alija Izetbegovic put forth a number of ultimatums before he should accept a peace accord for that war-wracked former Yugoslav republic, threatening Croatia with U.N. sanctions and the Serbs with a tightening of those already in place.

Saying that the Moslems would accept an agreement which contained a modicum of justice, Izetbegovic went on to explain that the Moslems would sign no unjust offer, regardless of the rigours of the coming winter, Europe's blackmail, the danger of famine and "threats of the aggressors."

As his conditions for accepting an accord, he listed an efficacious protection of the humanitarian corridors, with the possibility of U.N. peace-keepers using force, the reopening of Tuzla airport and the return of "the occupied territories."

As part of this, he "explained" that the Serbs could not have their republic in what he said was Bosnian territory, or hold localities where they had carried out "a genocide or ethnic cleansing." In addition, he said, the Croats must give the Moslems access to the Adriatic Sea at Neum.

Under the pretext of demanding a prior return of "the occupied territories," the Moslems rejected an internationally-brokered peace plan in September, which had been accepted by their Serb and Croat adversaries, because Izetbegovic hoped that procrastination with peace and a continuation of war would win more territory for the Moslem side.

Furthermore, he is not abandoning the idea of forming a Moslem-dominated unitary state, although he has agreed at Geneva that Bosnia-Herzegovina should be a union of three ethnic mini-states—one each for Bosnia's Moslems, Serbs and Croats.

His demands at the plenary session included international guarantees for the implementation of a peace accord for a period of at least five years. It is the Moslems' position that the best guarantors of peace, especially in the future Moslem state, would be NATO troops, spearheaded by U.S. forces.

If the Moslem demands are not granted, Izetbegovic insists that the world should impose sanctions on Croatia and tighten those against Serbia, in addition to exempting the Moslems from the arms sales embargo in force for all of former Yugoslavia, in order that they "could defend the people and the state."

He accused Croatia of amassing arms along the Bosnian border and took the opportunity to accuse Serbia, without offering a shred of proof in substantiation, of sending fresh troops to the areas of Olovo and Brcko in central and northern Bosnia.

Reporter Summarizes Negotiations

AU2911194893 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 29 Nov 93

[Report by Nada al-Isa from Geneva]

[Text] Europe must now insist on the implementation of a plan that it has itself proposed in Geneva, Bosnia-Herzegovina Prime Minister Dr. Haris Silajdzic said, adding that the Bosnia-Herzegovina Government supports humanitarian and political aspects of the proposal by the European Twelve.

This is precisely what has been discussed in Geneva today, namely, humanitarian and political problems, ideas, and proposed solutions. A military agreement of the three sides in Bosnia-Herzegovina has also been signed. It envisages all three sides liberating the humanitarian corridors and letting the convoys pass through.

Military commanders will resolve problems on the field. However, if they fail, the UN Protection Forces

[UNPROFOR] will intervene militarily, naturally, against those who will obstruct convoys. It has been agreed to free all humanitarian routes, but especially in three directions: one leading from Metkovic via Mostar and Tuzla to Sarajevo, and another one from Zagreb and from Belgrade leading toward central Bosnia.

The signing of the military agreement on humanitarian convoys has been preceded by a speech of Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, at the Geneva meeting. The president has described the humanitarian problems as the most pressing ones. He only spoke of possible political solutions for Bosnia-Herzegovina afterward. To restore peace, we must fulfill another four conditions, which are: the returning of the occupied territories, access of the future Bosnian Republic to the sea near Neum, the lifting of the arms embargo for the Bosnia-Herzegovina Government, the rejection of demilitarizing Bosnia-Herzegovina until Croatia and Serbia have been demilitarized, and a five-year transitional period during which the international forces would secure peace.

The European Twelve upheld the demands of the Bosnia-Herzegovina delegation with a remark that these are the proposals that had been agreed aboard a British military vessel in the Adriatic in September. Europe will go neither below nor above these demands, its ministers promised. President Izetbegovic said that these were the minimal demands, that is, that the Serbs must withdraw from the occupied territories and that the Croats must agree to the Bosnian Republic having sovereignty over a part of the territory near Neum. If the Serbs and the Croats do not agree, then the sanctions against Serbia should be tightened and also introduced against Croatia. The EC ministers promised to try to talk the Serbs and the Croats into accepting the demands of President Izetbegovic.

The demands of Milosevic and Tudjman did not gain support. The Serbian president, for example, accused the international community of taking a wrong approach toward the resolution of the crisis in the former Yugoslavia. He even wondered about the purpose of sanctions against Serbia when the Croats and the Muslims are fighting in Bosnia right now. He demanded the lifting of the sanctions. Willy Claes, chairman of the EC ministerial council, replied to him: I have acknowledged your demands, but I do not agree.

Croatian President Dr. Franjo Tudjman seemed to be more appeasing than usual, although he avoided being specific. However, he said that he supported the European proposal for the modus vivendi in the UN Protected Areas [UNPA] in Croatia, although nobody knows precisely what this entails. However, what could be heard unofficially in Geneva regarding this is that the fighting in UNPA zones will be stopped, but that Croatia will have to wait for some time before it gets them back.

Dr. Tudjman also commented on the demand of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Government for access to the sea near Neum. He said that there are no natural conditions for a port in Neum, which was a blatant attempt to keep Neum in the Croatian Republic. However, judging by the atmosphere prevailing in the EC, Zagreb can already say goodbye and Sarajevo welcome to Neum, even if only to a piece of the Neum coast and its hinterland.

Tudjman Rejects Ceding Neum

LD2911201893 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 29 Nov 93

[Statement by Croatian President Franjo Tudjman after the plenary session of the conference on Yugoslavia in Geneva on 29 November—recorded]

[Text] We supported the European Union's initiative as a way of getting out of the blind alley where the conference on the former Yugoslavia and the resolution of the crisis in the UN-protected zones and in Bosnia-Herzegovina had become stuck.

We are ready to accept any proposals on a political solution for the Croatian territories which are under the protection of the UN peacekeeping forces, on which UN representatives persist [as heard]. We also expressed Croatia's stance that the sanctions against Serbia, that is, Yugoslavia, had to be linked, as it is said in the UN Security Council resolutions, not only with the resolution of the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina but also with the resolution of the problem of the Croatian territories under the protection of the peacekeeping forces.

We have continually pressed for the providing of safe passage for humanitarian aid and we welcomed the agreement signed today by the military commanders and the representatives of the Serbs and UN Protection Force on safeguarding the humanitarian aid convoys. However, we would like to point out that it is important to have a political solution as the main orientation, since some parties—as one could see at the conference today—indeed want to prolong the war by focusing attention on the humanitarian aid.

Since in the search for a solution to bring an end to the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina it has been demanded that Croatia provide access to the sea for the Bosnian Muslim republic, and since the Bosnian Muslim republic also demands that it be given territory in Neum, I voiced our stance that Croatia could in no case agree to conceding its territory, for that would mean breaking up the Croatian national territory and state and threatening the strategic interests of the Croatian people and state.

However, I reiterated Croatia's willingness to make a concession regarding the Muslim Bosnian republic's access to the sea by providing a free zone in the ports of Ploce and Rijeka.

Apart from this, there is also a possibility that they could build their own port on the Neretva river. It is important that we are willing, regarding this issue, to promote its solution through the use of free zones in certain ports, as

is usually done elsewhere in the world. Anyway, there are many states in the world which do not have immediate access to the sea. The Muslim demand for gaining access to the sea on Croat territory, over the Croat people—and all that while aggression by the Muslim forces is under way on the territory which was envisaged first as a Croat province and later as the [Bosnian] Croat Republic—such a demand is obviously out of the question.

Karadzic: Talks Less 'Anti-Serbian'

AU2911211893 Novi Sad TVNS Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 29 Nov 93

[Interview with Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic by Zoran Jevdjovic in Geneva on 29 November—recorded]

[Text] [Jevdjovic] Mr. Karadzic, what are your impressions following today's talks, at the start of a new round of the Geneva talks on Bosnia-Herzegovina?

[Karadzic] One gets the impression that the European Community, or Union, wants to become more involved, perhaps now since the United States have pulled out of the crisis in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina. Not only was the absence of pressure noted, but it was also said that peace depends on the sides in the conflict, which is a completely new approach in the behavior of the European Community. Finally, the scene was too large, and an ambitious conclusion was expected. However, it was clear that an unprepared meeting cannot bring spectacular results, but it has brought something constructive, and that is the resumption of the talks with the same cochairmen, as well as the resumption of talks based on the agreement reached on the ship. That document contains undisputed elements on the lifting of the sanctions.

[Jevdjovic] There are many speculations about it, but the agreement reached on the ship does not represent any blackmail, but things that suit the Serb side.

[Karadzic] Well, yes, they suit us. It says there that the implementation of the plan would lead to the lifting of the sanctions, and now there is casual and comfortable talk with the Europeans about the suspension of the sanctions, possibly immediately after the plan is signed, and their definite lifting after the implementation. In other words, the words: The lifting of the sanctions, the suspension of the sanctions, have become normal talk and that is very important for the creation of a new climate in Europe. Also these scenes, these conferences are increasingly less anti-Serbian, not to say, less vulgar and derogatory than we were used to at, for example, I will never forget the London Conference at which we were the scarecrows. It is all now much more moderate.

[Jevdjovic] Tell us, what are the Serbs asked to do this time, and can they do it?

[Karadzic] No concrete....[pauses] There was mention of territorial concessions, but there was no call for concrete commitments regarding that. We signed one paper and accepted another regarding humanitarian issues. We, of course, insisted that the sanctions also be viewed as a humanitarian issue. We also insisted that our civilians be allowed to leave the cities freely as that is their right according to the Geneva Convention. We accepted these humanitarian issues. We also accepted the resumption of the talks within the Geneva conference. It seems to me that the entire scene was a kind of interim move by Europe, which was supposed to confirm that it is now in charge, that is, that it was now taking over the crisis in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina from the United States, and perhaps even from the United Nations.

[Jevdjovic] But the Serbs remain ready for talks, is not that so, and ready to give certain concessions if they get [word indistinct].

[Karadzic] Well, we are ready for talks. This war cannot end without talks. However, we are ready to reconsider some concessions that we withdrew earlier, we are ready to reconsider them in the same form or some other form. We want peace, and we are ready to find ways for a Muslim state to be created, a state that could survive. I think that the main concern of the international community—due to their relations with the Islamic world—is now to secure space for the Muslims, space that would be able to survive in its own right, and that should have some sort of access to the sea. Now the Serbs and the Croats have a chance perhaps to sit down and discuss what they can do for the Muslims, and they will have to accept that, because the fact is that no one is willing in the EC to support the Muslims forever in their aspiration to solve things through war, things they cannot solve.

Milosevic Views 'Realistic' Talks

AU2911211993 Novi Sad TVNS Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 29 Nov 93

[Interview with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic by Zoran Jevdjovic in Geneva on 29 November—recorded]

[Text] [Jevdjovic] Mr. President! The first day of the new round of Geneva talks on Bosnia-Herzegovina's future has ended, not exactly with an agreement, however, as we understood, nevertheless in an agreement to continue the talks. Therefore, although there has been no total accord, all sides display willingness to continue the negotiations?

[Milosevic] This is the main effect of the European initiative. It is well known that the talks of the three sides in Bosnia have been frozen for a long period of time. This initiative allowed the continuation of the talks. The continuation of the talks will accelerate a final solution. This is a positive step.

The second thing that could also be assessed as positive is that the issue of lifting, that is to say, suspending sanctions has been discussed for the first time in such a comprehensive EC makeup. However, what is very

important is that we have, I hope, clarified with each other perfectly well about this. Namely, the idea to suspend the sanctions can accelerate their lifting in a way because as you know the final document of the Geneva conference prior to its interruption clearly defines that with the restoration of peace in Bosnia the sanctions should finally be lifted. We reminded our partners in the talks of this. For this reason, one of the conclusions of this evening's plenary session is that the negotiations will continue where they have stopped, as it has been defined at the last meeting of the Geneva conference, when the lifting of sanctions was linked strictly to the restoration of peace in Bosnia.

This new category that has been introduced—the suspension—gives a chance that sanctions might be eased a little bit earlier. This means that the sanctions could already be suspended upon signing the final accord about the peace plan, while their final lifting would be formally realized during the realization of the plan. I would say that these are the two most significant positive outcomes of this meeting. Everything else depends on the course of negotiations that will be continued tonight and tomorrow morning between the Serbian and the Muslim side, and the Serbian and the Croatian side.

[Jevdjovic] Does this mean that the relatively firm stance toward sanctions that the EC put forward at the beginning of today's talks was a sort of a tactical move?

[Milosevic] The impression here is that on this occasion the Twelve—which has not been usual so far—did not exert pressure upon the negotiating sides of this conference. They tried to put forward a possibility for a just and quick solution, I would say, and to encourage and facilitate the continuation of the talks. This is primarily my impression of this meeting. You have had the opportunity to familiarize yourself with the stance that we supported at this conference. I believe that this was nevertheless a dialogue and that we were not in a situation in which they had frequently tried to put us from the Hague conference onward when they tried to make us either accept or reject something, but rather that both sides strived for a constructive approach that would facilitate the final solution.

[Jevdjovic] Therefore, the principled stance of Serbia actually made them to willy-nilly hear our opinion and also acknowledge it regardless of their position?

[Milosevic] I would not attribute us winning such a respect to our principled stance. Simply, the circumstances and the facts dictated the need to acknowledge the interests of all sides.

Generally speaking it can be said that regardless of the fact that their approach is still not perfectly balanced, that it is still not perfectly objective toward all sides, it does represent a progress in the creation of conditions for objectiveness. So far things have been exclusively black and white. The Serbian side was at fault, the Muslim side was right. Now, they are approaching all this from a much more balanced and, thus, much more realistic viewpoint. I believe that this approach creates conditions for an accelerated progress in the overall talks.

[Jevdjovic] Tell me only one more thing. In the introductory expose by Minister Claes the issue of Krajina and the issue of Kosovo were also mentioned. Have there been any attempts to link the issue of Krajina with Bosnia-Herzegovina, perhaps [words indistinct] Kosovo [words indistinct]?

[Milosevic] Yes, we discussed this at the afternoon session. The afternoon sessions were the meetings of the European Twelve with the Serbian, Muslim, and Croatian sides separately.

Regarding Krajina, it is perfectly clear, and we have reiterated our position that the negotiations about the relations between Croatia and Krajina must take place between Croatia and Krajina. This is the only competent level at which any solutions can be found. However, our principled stance regarding the realization of this approach has been embraced here. We spoke of three phases. In the first phase we must strive that Knin and Zagreb sign an agreement on cessation of hostilities, which would facilitate the UN troops to step between the two sides and eliminate the possibility of further bloodshed. In the second phase, the talks about normalization of communications, oil pipelines, transmission lines, railroads—general infrastructure—between the two will be continued.

These two phases practically comprise what the EC has qualified as the so-called modus vivendi. In this way the third phase, that is, negotiations about the political solution, is being postponed until some better times in which tensions would subside and in which it would be possible to guarantee a more or less normal and rational negotiating process.

However, the fundamental principle is that only the legitimate representatives of Krajina can hold authorized negotiations about Krajina's position toward the end of hostilities and normalization of communications. I would remind our citizens that this has been our position ever since the adoption of the Vance plan. We strived a lot for the adoption of the Vance plan and by this peace has returned to Krajina. Everything following this must be resolved exclusively between the legitimate Krajina representatives and Zagreb. There is no other way.

Regarding your second question, it is true that the issue of Kosovo has been raised. However, our stance regarding this is well known and we have repeated it. We consider Kosovo to be our internal matter. No internationalization of the issue of Kosovo is possible. As regards human and minority rights we observe absolutely the highest CSCE standards. All other issues are our internal issues and we shall resolve them in a way all sovereign countries do.

[Jevdjovic] Thank you, Mr. President.

Milosevic on Lifting of Sanctions

LD2911211493 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2035 GMT 29 Nov 93

[Text] Belgrade, 29 Nov (TANJUG)—Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic declared this evening, after a day of talks in Geneva, that the principal effect of the European initiative is to ensure the continuation of the negotiations on resolving the Bosnia-Herzegovina crisis.

Recalling that the negotiations between the three sides in Bosnia have been frozen for quite some time now, he said in a statement for Serbian Radio-Television that their continuation would accelerate the reaching of a final agreement.

Milosevic said that another positive development is that "today is the first time that such a large gathering, including the 12 ministers, reviewed the lifting of the sanctions, that is their suspension."

"It is very important that we hopefully made things perfectly clear," the Serbian president said, and explained that "the idea on the suspension of the sanctions could, in a way, accelerate their elimination."

"It is a well-known fact that we unequivocally stated in the final document of the Geneva conference, before the interruption of the talks, that the establishment of peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina should lead to the final lifting of the sanctions."

"We reminded the parties in the talks of that," Milosevic said, stressing that "this is why one of the conclusions of this evenings's plenary session is that the talks will continue at the point where they ended, the way it was defined at the last session of the Geneva conference, and then the lifting of sanctions was strictly linked with establishing peace in Bosnia."

"This new category that has been introduced—that of suspension [of the sanctions]—creates a possibility that some relaxing of sanctions may happen a little earlier, which means that the sanctions would be suspended with the final signing of consent to the peace plan, and their final lifting would formally take place as the plan is implemented."

"These are the two most significant consequences of the meeting. Everything else depends on how the negotiations between the Serbian and Muslim side and the Serbian and Croatian side, which will continue this evening and tomorrow morning, develop," Milosevic said.

Stoltenberg Cites 'Reasonable Hope'

AU2911200093 Paris AFP in English 1948 GMT 29 Nov 93

[By Francis Curta]

[Text] Geneva, Nov 29 (AFP)—Parties to the Bosnian war resumed peace talks here Monday evening [29 November] after two months of deadlock following rejection by the Bosnian Government of the latest peace package, but major differences remain, the peace conference negotiators said.

And the warring Bosnian parties—Serbs, Moslems and Croats—have signed a new agreement on free movements for humanitarian convoys, this time with a green light given to the UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) to use force if necessary to get them through.

Lord Owen, the European Community mediator, and Thorvald Stoltenberg, the UN mediator, were chairing talks late Monday between Serbs and Croats, which were due to be followed by talks between Serbs and Bosnian Moslems on Tuesday.

"There's no time to lose. We must conclude as soon as possible," Belgian Foreign Minister Willy Claes told a news conference following a day of high-profile talks between the 12 EC foreign ministers, the three Bosnian factions and the presidents of Serbia, Montenegro and Croatia.

The EC ministers, who promised to consider lifting sanctions on rump Yugoslavia if Bosnian Serbs hand over more territory to the Moslems, might return to Geneva in December to try to speed up the process which, if successful, could spill over into a new London peace conference, according to Claes, whose country currently chairs the European Community.

The agreement on free movement of aid convoys, which follows one concluded a fortnight ago with the UN High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR], specifies that signatories to the agreement—Moslems, Serbs and Croats—"acknowledge that UNPROFOR will use all available means including force to establish unimpeded flow" of aid to the population now suffering from both hunger and cold in the Bosnian winter.

Despite the agreement with the UNHCR, humanitarian convoys have been harassed and held up over the past two weeks, though one fuel convoy finally reached Sarajevo at the weekend—the first since the summer.

Stoltenberg told reporters that peace talks were able to resume because there was "reasonable hope" for continuing negotiations, but Owen said it was not yet clear whether the Bosnian Serbs would agree to hand over more territory to the Moslem-led Bosnian Government as demanded by Sarajevo as a condition for agreeing to the partition of the country.

But "if you solve the problem of (divided) Sarajevo and that of access to the sea (for the Moslem state which would emerge from partition), the rest will fall into place," Owen said.

One of the main problems would however be access to the sea, Owen acknowledged.

Bosnia's President Alija Izetbegovic has said for his part that a mini Moslem-based state wants "access to the sea

at Neum (on the Adriatic), not a piece of land nor some abstract right, but a wide territorial access to the sea."

Bosnian Croats had earlier only accepted that the Moslems should get a corridor linking them to a free port on the Adriatic.

Meanwhile, Owen pointed to two tactical changes in the Bosnian government's position, including a demand that demilitarisation of the country be dropped from the peace package to allow the Moslems to keep a standing army and acceptance that North Atlantic Treaty Organisation troops, among them Americans, be deployed only in the Moslem mini-state to guarantee its borders for five years. The peace package had earlier called for NATO and U.S. deployment in the whole of Bosnia, something Bosnian Serbs had strongly objected to.

German Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel said that getting the Bosnian factions to resume peace talks was in itself a success. The EC foreign ministers were leaving Geneva for Rome on Tuesday to attend a meeting of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Serbs' 'Maximum Concession' Detailed

AU3011104893 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 27-30 Nov p 1

[G.R. report: "Return of Concessions, Maximum Concession by Serbs"]

[Text] Belgrade—As BORBA has found out from circles close to the leadership of the Serb republic, the maximum concession that the Serbs might agree to at the coming Geneva talks is to restore the withdrawn concessions. According to this source, the Serbian negotiators will absolutely not agree to give the Muslims the additional 3.6 percent of Serbian territory as that percent in effect means giving up 7.2 percent of the present territory of the Serb republic.

The delegation of the Serb republic in Geneva will also try to exchange with the Muslims Gorazde for parts of Sarajevo under Serb control. Our source claims that cochairmen Owen and Stoltenberg will put forward to the warring sides a new map of the territorial partition of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which will include the additional 3.6 percent of territory for the Muslim republic.

Talks Resume 30 Nov

AU3011113393 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 30 Nov 93

[Report by Milorad Denda]

[Text] As agreed at yesterday's meeting between the ministers of the European Union and the three warring factions, the peace negotiations on Bosnia-Herzegovina continued in the Palais des Nations in Geneva today. The talks between Slobodan Milosevic, Momir Bulatovic, and Radovan Karadzic, presidents of Serbia, Montenegro, and the republic of Srpska respectively, on one side, and the Muslim delegation led by Alija Izetbegovic on the other side began this morning.

The talks are, of course, mediated by the cochairmen of the conference, Owen and Stoltenberg. It is assumed that the territorial issues are in the focus of the talks, above all Sarajevo, considering that the Muslim side demanded, and the ministers of the European Union agreed, that the Serbs make new territorial concessions.

Prior to the talks in Geneva, Radovan Karadzic was saying that instead of talking percentages it would be better to talk about the quality of the territories.

The Muslim delegation and the delegations of Croatia and Herceg-Bosnia will meet this afternoon. The main topic of talks will be the Muslim demand for an outlet to the sea. Croatian President Tudjman stated last night that the Muslims can only get an access to the sea via the ports of Ploce and Rijeka.

The delegations of Serbia, Montenegro, and the Serbian Republic last night held talks with the delegations of Croatia and Herceg-Bosnia.

So far there is no indication as to how long this stage of negotiations will last. Everyone is, however, stressing as positive the fact that the talks resumed after a two-month deadlock.

Serbs Insist on Sarajevo 'Demarcation'

AU3011145093 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 30 Nov 93

[Report by Milorad Denda from Geneva]

[Text] The Serbian and the Muslim delegations held talks this morning in the Palais de Nations in Geneva. The delegations were led by Radovan Karadzic and Alija Izetbegovic. Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic and Montenegrin President Momir Bulatovic occasionally participated in the talks, especially with cochairmen Owen and Stoltenberg. Slobodan Milosevic had lunch with cochairmen Owen and Stoltenberg.

There were difficulties at today's talks because of the Muslim side's demand to discuss territorial concessions of the Serbs, which—according to the circles of the Serb delegation—is in effect a demand to obtain territories in eastern and western Bosnia. The Muslim side presented this approach as in line with the mandate of the European Union and yesterday's agreement with the Twelve ministers, even though Lord Owen stated last night that the central territorial issues were the issue of Sarajevo and the Muslim access to the sea. According to Owen, these issues should be solved first and then the others would fall in place.

During this morning's talks, the Serb side asked for the issue of Sarajevo to be discussed first—that is, the issue of its territorial demarcation, or that an agreement should be reached on the territorial demarcation. The

Muslim side rejected that; according to the Serb delegation, it thought that after two years—which is how long Sarajevo should be under the UN protectorate according to the Owen-Stoltenberg plan—Sarajevo would eventually belong to the Muslims, and the Muslim side thought that the status of Sarajevo was a fait accompli. The Serbs have obviously seen through that game, and they want to solve the issue of Sarajevo first. Even though the Muslim president or representative had been stating in the corridors of the Palais de Nations that the negotiations were about to collapse and in a critical stage, the true result of today's talks was an agreement to continue the Serb-Muslim talks tomorrow morning, when a new meeting between Radovan Karadzic and Alija Izetbegovic is to take place.

In the meantime, talks will be held here this afternoon between the Muslim delegation and the delegations of Croatia and Herceg-Bosnia. We have been told that Serbian President Milosevic will leave Geneva tonight, but he will meet Croatian President Franjo Tudjman.

France's Juppe Threatens To Withdraw Peacekeepers

LD2911161193 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1459 GMT 29 Nov 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Paris, Nov 29 (TANJUG)—France has officially threatened it would stop humanitarian aid and withdraw its U.N. peace-keepers if the representatives of the warring Moslems, Serbs and Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina do not reach a peace agreement in Geneva on Monday [29 November].

A warning by French Foreign Minister Alain Juppe that such drastic action will take place when winter is over may mean that the entire European Union (E.U.) next spring will also "give up" Bosnia-Herzegovina. This has been more and more openly demanded by numerous political forces in Europe.

In an interview published in the Paris daily LES ECHOS on Monday, Juppe admitted that the world community "was wandering in a circle" without all ideas for resolving the Bosnian crisis after Bosnian Moslem leader Alija Izetbegovic had in September rejected the Geneva plan on a Bosnia-Herzegovina union of three ethnic mini-states.

A compromise with political, diplomatic and humanitarian contents has been offered now, Juppe said and specified it concerned a proposal for Bosnian Serbs to give Moslems some territorial concessions in return for a gradual suspension of the sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

"The message to Izetbegovic says: If Serbs and Croats (in Bosnia-Herzegovina) accept the compromise, then you must sign the agreement," Juppe said.

The French minister has also sent a message to Croatia to "abandon the idea of searching of its own accord for justice by means of force," and underlined it was necessary that the Serbs in the Republic of Serb Krajina (R.S.K.) accept a "modus vivendi" with Croatia. "The final lifting of the sanctions against Serbia would follow after a complete settlement of the Krajina problem," he said.

The war between Croatia and the Krajina Serbs has been lasting for three years now. The R.S.K. was proclaimed by Serbs in 1991 in parts of the former Croatia where they accounted for the majority population, in protest against the forcible Croatian secession from ex-Yugoslavia and the downgrading of the status of Serbs to that of national minority.

Although the Republic of Serb Krajina was proclaimed a U.N. Protected Area (UNPA) in March 1992, Croatia—which has not recognized the Krajina state—has since then on three occasions launched aggressions against the R.S.K. with the aim of forcibly imposing its rule there.

Berisha Discusses Economic Development, Reforms

AU2911163193 Vienna KURIER in German 29 Nov 93 p 4

[Interview with President Sali Berisha by Ingrid Steiner in Tirana; date not given: "We Will Achieve the Greatest Plus in Eastern Europe This Year"]

[Text] [Steiner] When you assumed office 18 months ago, you were described as the "surgeon who will cure Albania." How are you facing up to this challenge?

[Berisha] We have achieved decisive progress at several levels: in foreign policy, in legislation, and in the economy. Inflation is under control, our currency is stable, and with a rate of 8 percent, Albania will achieve the highest growth rate among all East European states.

[Steiner] In view of the data, it is surprising that possible German investors recently departed disillusioned.

[Berisha] There are no legal barriers. The IMF classified our investment laws as very good. Yet our problem is that we have not yet liberalized the sale of land. The current reforms must first be completed.

[Steiner] When will that be the case?

[Berisha] This is an ongoing process. The privatization of large enterprises is scheduled to begin in 1994. The government is preparing a list of 600 enterprises that are to be sold.

[Steiner] Is Tirana sticking to the principle that it "will not watch a war in Kosovo with folded arms?"

[Berisha] Absolutely. There are 7 million Albanians. They are a geographic and ethnic entity. The Albanians in Kosovo are not demanding border changes. All they want is a democratic living space and democratic institutions. The danger of a war in the region is enormous because the Serbian side has continued to fan it in the past few weeks.

[Steiner] How far have reforms in the Albanian Army progressed?

[Berisha] In a three-phase plan for the reorganization and streamlining of the army, we have concluded the second stage. The number of divisions was reduced from 26 to nine. Now we are modernizing our concepts and the training. The reform of the police is also in full swing.

Serreqi, Israel's Peres Hold News Conference

AU2911125893 Tirana ATA in English 0945 GMT 29 Nov 93

[Text] Tirana, November 29 (ATA)—"Albania offered political stability and good will for bilateral cooperation", [Foreign Minister] Mr. Serreqi said at a joint press conference. Mr. Serreqi appreciated [Israel's Foreign Minister] Mr. Peres' visit to Albania, which shows that Albania has gained reputation in the world due to its open policy.

The establishment of a joint commission which will define the conditions and ways of cooperation and will draft specific plans for the development of agriculture, tourism, education, and health, the two agreements signed between Albania and Israel were some of the subjects M. Serreqi and Peres focused on at the press conference.

Mr. Peres underlined the good prospects of economic development and cultural and scientific cooperation. Mr. Peres met with members of Albania-Israeli friendship association.

German Train Represents 'Environmental Scandal'

AU3011103993 Hamburg DPA in German 1015 GMT 29 Nov 93

[Text] Tirana (DPA)—The German train full of poison stuck in northern Albania is endangering the water supply of large parts of the southern Balkans. This was announced today in the Albanian capital Tirana. According to this information, a delegation from the Environment Ministry in Bonn was on the scene weeks ago and had spoken of an environmental scandal. The German authorities have been involved with the train, which is standing near Lake Shkoder with over 200 tonnes of various chemicals on board, since its arrival in Albania two years ago.

The chemicals, ordered from the west German company Schmidt-Cretan under the old communist regime, had been "scandalously badly packed" right from the start, eye-witnesses told DPA. In the meantime the safety dates on all the plastic tanks had expired. Numerous containers had also been stolen over the course of time by unknown thieves, and the contents simply poured onto the ground. Other tanks had holes through which poison was dripping. According to information from experts in Tirana, disposal of the pesticides is not possible in Albania. Apart from this the wagons are blocked in, and the railroad line is closed in one direction because of the UN embargo against what is left of Yugoslavia, and in the other by a bridge which has been washed away.

This environmental scandal, which has now been made public, is not an isolated case. Another around 200 tonnes of poisons from Germany are said to be stored in other parts of the country. The legal position is unclear as the chemicals reached Albania with incomplete documentation, and possibly through corruption.

Council of Ministers Approves 1994 Budget Bill

AU2911204093 Sofia BTA in English 1856 GMT 29 Nov 93

[Report by Tanya Tsekova]

[Text] Sofia, November 29 (BTA)—The 1994 national budget bill, approved by the government today, projects a deficit of 6.5 percent and an average annual inflation rate of 45 percent. The budget bill will be introduced before the National Assembly at the beginning of next year.

The 1994 consolidated national budget projects 171,500 million leva revenue and 204,000 million leva expenditure, which makes a deficit of 32,500 million leva or 6.55 percent of the gross domestic product (GDP), Deputy Minister of Finance Dimitur Kostov told reporters. He specified that GDP was expected to come up to about 500,000 leva pointing out the figure was tentative because the National Statistical Institute had not complete data on the GDP growth in 1993.

The deficit specified in this year's national budget is 8 percent of a projected 340,000 million leva GDP. However, according to information by the Ministry of Finance, the utilization of the budget in its revenue side will not exceed 80 percent, while the National Statistical Institute has estimated the expected GDP at no more than 270,000 leva. Even the 8 percent deficit, which will be probably exceeded, seemed too much to the International Monetary Fund and it insisted on finding ways to increase the budget revenue at the very beginning of this year.

Concerning the 1994 budget expenditure, largest is the portion that would be spent on social security—32.7 percent, 21.6 percent are projected for servicing Bulgaria's foreign debt payment, 9.3—for health care, 10.1 percent - for education, 5.6 percent—for economic services or, as Mr. Kostov explained, for subsidizing the sectors of the economy in which the prices are state-controlled: power engineering, postal services, transport. The figure projected for spending on defense is 6.5 percent and on the police and the judiciary—3.4 percent.

According to Mr. Dimitur Kostov, the value added tax would be the prime source of budget revenue. He did not commit himself to a specific figure because the value added tax act enters into force as of January 1994 and Bulgaria has no experience in its collection. The projections were made on the basis of other countries' experience.

If the 1994 national budget bill is passed in its present version, 9,100 million leva would be spent on foreign debt interest payment and 5,400 million—on one-time payment of bad debts interest.

The parliamentary committees will probably start discussing the draft budget next week. Most politicians think that the passage of the 1994 budget bill will be a kind of a vote of confidence in Prof. Lyuben Berov's cabinet: A month ago Prof. Berov said that the 1993 expenditure funds were already used up in October and called for sparing social spending until the end of the year.

Cabinet Approves Foreign Debt Agreement

AU3011093893 Sofia BTA in English 2046 GMT 29 Nov 93

[Text] Sofia, November 29 (BTA)—The government today approved the agreement in principle achieved by the Bulgarian delegation to the negotiations on the country's foreign debt with the commercial creditor banks and will ask parliament to sanction the signing of an agreement.

At its regular meeting, the cabinet approved implementing regulations for the 1993-1994 Farming Financial Support Act.

The Council of Ministers decided to establish a fund for farming assistance and guarantee and approved rules for the fund's organization and procedure. The fund will pool resources derived from aid provided by international financial institutions. They will be spent in tied loans to private farmers and farmer associations. The fund will incorporate the unutilized ECU 7 million received from Operation PHARE [Economic Reconstruction of Poland and Hungary].

Within two weeks the ministers of industry and finance will have to suggest to the Council of Ministers measures to improve the condition of coal and ore mining. This was decided by the cabinet at a meeting behind closed doors today, after the industry minister reported the state of the mining industry.

Some forty types of Bulgarian wines will be marketed in Europe with protected brand names, under a draft agreement on reciprocal protection and control of wines appellation of origin and an agreement on reciprocal tariff quotas for definite wines between Bulgaria and the European Community [EC]. The government today approved a report on that agreement which will take effect after the entry into force of the interim trade agreement with the EC. Under the draft, Bulgaria will be able to export more wines than it will have to import. Exports will be expanding gradually, with quotas increasing and customs duties decreasing annually.

Draft agreements with Israel on investment promotion and reciprocal protection and on cooperation in tourism were also approved.

The cabinet gave its consent to a renewal of the memorandum of agreement between the governments of Canada and Bulgaria on export of certain types of textile products from Bulgaria to Canada, effective as from December 31, 1993. The Finance Ministry was assigned

to draft an answer to the note of the Canadian Government proposing that this term be extended until the end of 1994, with negotiations held on revision of some of the clauses.

Liquid fuel prices will remain unchanged during the next 15 days, the Council of Ministers decided today. Diesel fuel will rise by 0.60 leva to 10 leva/l, and A-98 petrol will cheapen by 0.20 leva.

Turkish Party's National Conference Opens

AU2811160393 Sofia BTA in English 2253 GMT 27 Nov 93

[Report by Iva Toncheva and Kiril Vulchev: "Movement For Rights and Freedoms Holds Conference"]

[Text] Sofia, November 27 (BTA)—Presenting his report to the Second National Conference of the ethnic Turks' Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS), leader Ahmed Dogan described the movement's orientation as a centrist one. He paid special attention to the character of the movement saying that for at least another 10 or 15 years, the DPS should remain a combination of an ethnic and a national party.

The DPS was established in 1990 as a successor to an underground organization set up by 18 intellectuals in 1984-85 when the communist authorities launched a campaign for the forcible change of Bulgarian ethnic Turks' names. The DPS made its mark as the third major political force, following the formerly communist Bulgarian Communist Party (BSP) and the anti-communist Union of Democratic Forces (SDS), in the first free elections held in the summer of 1990. The two-day conference of the movement, which opened today, is attended by about 500 delegates who are expected to elect the DPS new leadership, make some amendments to the DPS Statute and approve the DPS programme. The conference is also expected to make an assessment of the performance of Prof. Lyuben Berov's cabinet, formed at the end of 1992 using the mandate assigned to the DPS.

DPS leader Ahmed Dogan pointed out in his report that the movement had set a Bulgarian model of resolving ethnic problems. He reminded that emerging as a party on an ethnic basis, later on the DPS had made a step towards its transformation into a national party. Mr. Dogan's statement that the DPS was the major agent of the bloodless transition contributing to its successful implementation as an ethnic party got loud applause. "We have created a new reality in those relations acquiring new experience for mankind to share," the DPS leader said. Dwelling on Bulgaria's geostrategic priorities, Mr. Dogan said he was embarrassed by the fact that "we turned from imitators of Russia into America's supporters in a very short time." "If at this stage America is the image, the reality is Russia. America is too far away, Russia is and will be the geostrategic centre of a lot of events which are yet to take place in this world," Mr. Dogan stated. In his opinion, even if Bulgaria is integrated into the system of NATO, this still will not resolve its national security problems. "I do not think that our country should fall political victim to the interests of the great powers," Mr. Dogan stressed. Speaking about the movement's future prospects, he launched the thesis that for at least another 10 or 15 years the DPS should remain a combination of a national party of an ethnic type or an ethnic party of a national type. "What matters now is a proper sense of proportion because we cannot make the next step without guaranteeing the collective rigits of minorities in this country," Ahmed Dogan said.

The delegates applauded Mr. Dogan when, speaking about the processes of self-determination in the western Rhodopes (southern Bulgaria), he emphasized that "we will not allow anyone—parliament, the president, the government, the executive authorities or any political force, to dictate our rights and freedoms in that region." "The DPS protects the individual and collective rights of human communities and will continue to identify itself with this activity. If, within this context, we are to choose between the priorities of national security and human rights, we will choose human rights and all consequences involved," Ahmed Dogan stated. He warned that the chain reaction might be so unexpected and stupendous that Europe would have to read Bulgaria's history for a long time before venturing to intervene.

Mr. Dogan elaborated on the movement's relations with the Union of Democratic Forces, DPS's ally for almost a year after the 1991 elections. The DPS has always been loyal to the SDS and it looks upon the SDS as its major and natural partner, he said adding that a stable partnership by all means requires the presence of a common axiological system. He said that after the political divorce of the movement and the SDS, the DPS has no partner in parliament except for the Alternative Social Liberal Party (which split from the SDS) and the fourth parliamentary group—the New Union for Democracy (set up by MP's who split or were expelled from the SDS parliamentary group). The DPS has not and will not enter into a political marriage with the Bulgarian Socialist Party, Ahmed Dogan said emphasizing the movement's centrist orientation.

Ivan Kostov, deputy floor leader of the SDS parliamentary group and ex-minister of finance, was the first of the guests who addressed the conference. In his speech, which was given applause, he called upon the participants "to reconsider the movement's coalition with the BSP and to restore the movement's democratic and anti-communist positions." An adviser to the president read President Zhelyu Zhelev's address to the conference, in which Dr. Zhelev says that the Bulgarian state is a guarantor for the unity of the Bulgarian nation expressing his assurance that the leadership and the members of the DPS share this view. National Assembly Chairman Aleksandur Yordanov and Prime Minister Lyuben Berov had also sent greeting messages laying stress on the movement's responsibility for Bulgaria's

consistent national policy and national concord. Dr. Konstantin Trenchev, president of the Podkrepa Labour Confederation, whose relations with the DPS are very close, leaders of extraparliamentary forces, National Assembly members and representatives of Turkish parties—the Motherland Party, the Democratic Left Party, the True Path Party and the Populist Party, also made speeches.

Taking the floor for statements, quite a number of delegates spoke about the social problems of the members and supporters of the DPS, most of whom live in the uplands, the country's most backward regions.

MP Mehmed Hodja's statement, considered to be Mr. Dogan's most serious opponent, was the most critical of all. He described the movement's collaboration with the Socialists in parliament as absurd and immoral. Mr. Hodja said that in parliament the DPS should support a bill that would make it possible to declassify the confidential personnel files of former state security agents.

Relations With SDS Discussed

AU2911095793 Sofia BTA in English 2115 GMT 28 Nov 93

["Movement for Rights and Freedoms for Openness and Dialogue With Union of Democratic Forces"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, November 28 (BTA)—Ahmed Dogan, leader of the ethnic Turks' Movement for Rights and Freedoms [DPS], which had a national conference this weekend, told the press today that a defreeze of DPS relations with the anti-communist Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) is possible. The DPS and the SDS were allies for a year after the October 1991 elections. When the movement withdraw its support for the SDS government headed by Filip Dimitrov, a cabinet of experts headed by independent economist Prof. Lyuben Berov was formed using the mandate assigned to the DPS and elected thanks to the support of the formerly communist Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP).

"The previously existing parliamentary majority should be restored," delegates to the conference pointed out in their speeches. Mr. Dogan declared himself to be for talks with the SDS to decide if the two political forces would have a common strategy. Interviewed for television, DPS leader Ahmed Dogan said he had had contacts with SDS representatives yesterday and today, but added that this was a question of the future. "You know very well that our cooperation involved some negative experience but it also had its good points, we wish that the bad things be overcome," Mr. Dogan told journalists.

The conference adopted a declaration which says that the DPS will continue to pursue a policy of openness and dialogue in regard to the parliamentary and extraparliamentary political forces in general and the SDS in particular always when the priority problems of the reform are concerned. "The continuing hostilities in this country's western neighbour destabilizes the Balkans as a whole," the declaration reads. The DPS categorically stands for recognizing the right of all communities in the Balkan region to self-determination and self-identification by keeping the existing borders intact. The DPS declared itself to be for ending the bloodbath immediately and for opening negotiations on the peaceful settlement of all points at issue based on the principles of respecting human rights and freedoms of all sides involved in the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

In the political programme adopted by the conference today, the DPS determines itself as a universal political organization protecting the rights and freedoms of all Bulgarian citizens irrespective of their ethnicity or religion. "The DPS stands for the legal protection of both individual and collective rights and freedoms," the programme says. The movement insists on making the optional mother-tongue study a compulsory subject. In the economic section of its programme, the DPS declares it will strive for the regional restructuring of the economy and the adoption of programmes for the development of the uplands inhabited mainly by ethnic Turks. The movement is for mass privatization, speeding up the land restitution, the allocation of land to small owners and landless farmers, a stable income policy, the adoption of legislation regulating the problems of unemployment and Bulgaria's external debt. In a special section devoted to foreign policy, the DPS declares itself to be for Bulgaria's full membership in NATO, lays stress on the political and military aspects of this country's relations with Turkey and Greece, points out the necessity to maintain mutually advantageous relations with the United States and Western Europe and emphasized that the relations with the former Soviet countries should be preserved.

Ahmed Dogan, who yesterday was reelected leader of the DPS unanimously, nominated the members of the DPS leadership after the delegates granted him this special right.

A scandal broke late in the evening. MP Mehmed Hodja stated that DPS spokesman Yunal Lyutfi, DPS Organizational Secretary Osman Oktay and yet another activist of the movement—all of them nominated as members of the DPS top leadership by Mr. Dogan, were former State Security agents. Mr. Dogan denied the authenticity of the documents exposing them as agents which were presented by Mr. Hodja, assumed responsibility for his team and even said that he could also "produce something interesting" about Mehmed Hodja. Mr. Hodja, who is considered to be Mr. Dogan's most serious opponent, and most of the delegates representing the region of Kurdzhali (southern Bulgaria) left the conference in protest.

Press Comments on Conference

AU2911142993 Sofia BTA in English 0931 GMT 29 Nov 93

[Excerpt] Sofia, November 29 (BTA)—The dailies give prominence to the Second National Conference of the

ethnic Turks' Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS), the third biggest parliamentary force, which ended here late last night. The conference adopted a report by leader Ahmed Dogan who was reelected chairman. The forum also elected the leadership proposed by Dogan, adopted amendments to the Statutes, a programme, a political declaration and 17 decisions on internal political and organizational issues. The press highlights the movement's organizational problems, its relations with the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS), and its place on the Bulgarian political scene.

The dailies report that about 90 delegates from the Kurdzhali Region (southern Bulgaria) walked out of the conference. Mehmed Hodja, leader of the local DPS branch, charged that close aides of DPS leader Dogan had collaborated with the State Security. Here are some of the headlines: "Scandal Foils Scenario," (DEMOKRATSIYA,, SDS daily), "Lyutfi Implicated as State Security Agent by Mehmed Hodja," (24 CHASA), "Kurdzhali Delegates Accuse Lyutfi, Oktay of Collaboration with the State Security," (STANDART NEWS).

DEMOKRATSIYA quotes a delegate who walked out as saying the DPS is in the grips of the State Security. PODKREPA, the trade union daily, quotes Dogan who said he was convinced he would not admit separatism after his reelection as leader on the first day of the conference. "Better Personalities and Problems Than Monolithic Unity," runs the PODKREPA headline. KONTINENT and OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK focus on Dogan's unanimous reelection in reports headlined "Dogan Has New Leadership Elected in 'Difficult Conference'," and "DPS Becomes Dogan's Party."

DUMA, the daily of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP), runs a report headlined "DPS Thaws Relations With the SDS." The daily quotes Dogan as telling the press yesterday that he contacted SDS representatives. Late last year the DPS fell out with the SDS. Yanaki Stoilov MP of the BSP says in STANDART NEWS he expected a hint about renewed contacts and possible rapprochement with the SDS. According to Ivan Tsenov MP of the SDS, quoted in the same daily, the DPS statement that it does not want an alliance with the Socialists is not backed up by the links and political conduct of the two organizations. "It seems as if the DPS is eager to please the SDS at all costs," says Ivan Tsenov in STANDART NEWS. The dailies play with two popular advertisements, saying that "the DPS behaves like Linco Margarine with balanced contents, and the conference gave the SDS 'a sense of softness'," as a Palmolive advert runs. A signed commentary in KONTINENT forecasts with a great deal of certainty that the restoration of the old parliamentary majority of the SDS and the DPS is only a matter of time.

"DPS Is Ethnic Party, Dogan Admits," runs a frontpage headline in TRUD, the trade union daily. A signed commentary in OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK, says there is no longer need for the DPS to function as a human rights organization because the constitution and the international human rights accords ratified by Bulgaria guarantee these rights to every single citizen. "The boom of Bulgarian and Turkish nationalism signify one thing—elections are approaching," the author says. [passage omitted]

Dogan 'Unanimously' Reelected

AU2811160593 Sofia BTA in English 2350 GMT 27 Nov 93

[Text] Sofia, November 27 (BTA)—This evening the National Conference of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS) unanimously re-elected Ahmed Dogan leader of the movement. Mr. Dogan, 37, is a philosopher by education, former dissident and chairman of the DPS Central Council since the establishment of the organization in 1990.

"You could have asked me if I want to be DPS leader, anyway, I will take on this heavy responsibility once again. I will do my utmost to keep the movement united and to turn the role it plays now in the country's political life by chance into a necessity," Mr. Dogan said on his election.

Later on he told the press that he had been contemplating his political withdrawal, but was afraid that he might be accused of betrayal. Mr. Dogan stated that he would not allow any separatism in the country adding that he had always opposed any ideas that could jeopardize Bulgaria's national security. "My general idea is to link the real protection of human rights and of human communities, of the minorities, with the real guaranteeing of the country's security," he said. Invited by BTA to comment on the statement he made in his report that faced with the choice between the country's national security and human rights, the DPS would choose human rights, Mr. Dogan said there were some misprints in the text. "If the question is posed alternatively, we will choose human rights and national security," Mr. Dogan stressed.

He said it was not by chance that there were several guests from the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) at the conference. (the movement's relations with the SDS got strained at the end of last year). The defreezing should be transformed into concrete texts embodying the two organizations' interrelations," Mr. Dogan said commenting on the speech made by Ivan Kostov, deputy floor leader of the SDS parliamentary group, at the conference in which he called on the DPS to reconsider its relations with the SDS.

MP Mehmed Hodja, leader of the DPS local organization in the region of Kurdzhali (southern Bulgaria), who criticized Ahmed Dogan at the DPS local conference held in that town a month ago, was expected to oppose Mr. Dogan's re-election as DPS chairman. Today he made a strong-worded statement saying that the electorate of the DPS disapproves its collaboration with the

Socialist MP's, thanks to which the incumbent cabinet, formed by Prof. Lyuben Berov using the DPS mandate, was elected by parliament.

Unlike Ahmed Dogan, Mr. Hodja insists that ethnic Turks in Bulgaria be granted immediately a national minority status. "This does not mean an autonomy, but a recognition of their collective rights," he said. "Despite the differences I and Mr. Dogan have, I think we have no other man worthy of becoming the DPS leader," Mehmed Hodja said in conclusion.

Deputies Play Down Kolesnikov Warning

AU2811153393 Sofia 24 CHASA in Bulgarian 20 Nov 93 p 2

[Article by Milena Shopova: "Moscow Spies Scare Us With Turkey"]

[Text] Turkey's ambitions cross Bulgaria and reach former Yugoslavia and Albania, General Mikhail Kolesnikov, chief of the Russian Army General Staff, warned Defense Minister Valentin Aleksandrov.

According to Gen. Kolesnikov, the process of restructuring the Balkans has not yet ended and will affect other countries. Experts think that the Russian high-ranking officer hinted that new states will emerge and others will disappear.

The General's claim has ostensibly been prompted by the increasing aggressiveness of Islamic fundamentalism. According to him, one can observe similar phenomena now in Azerbaijan, northern Ossetia, and the Central Asian republics.

The Russian military intelligence had evidence on that matter, Minister Aleksandrov said in the parliament on 19 November, explaining the goal of Gen. Kolesnikov's visit.

Bulgaria would find itself in an exceptional situation after the attack of Islamic fundamentalism in the Balkans.

According to the blue [Union of Democratic Forces] deputy Ilian Shotlekov, Islamic fundamentalism could threaten Russia but not Bulgaria, because Turkey blocks the road to Bulgaria.

"Turkey's influence in the Balkan peninsula is of a completely different nature. Turkey has a lay leadership, and in addition, it is the most powerful economic and military force in the Balkans," Mr. Shotlekov added.

Nikolay Dobrev of the Bulgarian Socialist Party said that "there are many much more alarming factors for our national security than Islamic fundamentalism, for example, the situation in our Army."

Tanev Criticizes Dimitrov Cabinet's Agrarian Policy

AU2611170693 Sofia VECHERNI NOVINI in Bulgarian 20-27 Nov 93 p 4

[Interview with Agriculture Minister Georgi Tanev by Simeon Danevski; place and date not given; "Agriculture Minister Georgi Tanev: 'Dimitrov's Government Destroyed Villages'"]

[Text] [Danevski] Do you still adhere to the opinion that Filip Dimitrov's government inflicted irreparable damage to Bulgarian villages?

[Tanev] More than that. I already have many facts that support this position. The Bulgarian villages really were plundered by people who were supported by the government.

[Danevski] You informed the chief prosecutor about this, but he did not pay any attention to you.

[Tanev] I was not surprised. That was expected. The independent judiciary now deals with other things.

[Danevski] As a deputy minister in Filip Dimitrov's government, you had the opportunity of warning him about what would happen if sufficient means were not allocated for the 1992 spring sowing. What did he answered then?

[Tanev] He said that everything will fall into place. I was supposed to be calm and unconcerned. I warned Mr. Dimitrov that difficult, very difficult days lie ahead, and that perhaps there will be hunger if sufficient measures are not adopted. The price of bread will reach 10 leva, one kilogram of meat 100 leva. Mr. Dimitrov answered: "So what—this is the market economy. Those who have money will pay, the others—will not...." A prime minister cannot give such an answer. This is cynical.

[Danevski] Certain people are now insistently demanding your resignation.

[Tanev] I will not resign under any circumstances. Let them remove me if they want to.

[Danevski] At the beginning, you made a statement that you will return the land by the spring.

[Tanev] I hoped that the other government did something. However, it turned out that those who screamed about the land reform plundered what was created during many years. I am an opponent of the Labor Cooperative Agricultural Farms—there is no question of this. However, those farms had property, merchandise, and equipment. Where did all this go? I ask. Sooner or later someone will have to pay for all the calamities. A prosecutor will be found who will say "no more!"

More than 35 percent of the land has been returned in a realistic manner. There is no other manner. Nevertheless, certain people continue to organize rallies and demand the return of the land in a realistic manner. This is ridiculous.

[Danevski] Certain people say that you oppose the liquidation councils.

[Tanev] Not at all. I am against those liquidation councils that were created only by the blue [Union of Democratic Forces] magic. Those councils included many thieves and crooks. They destroyed everything. They slaughtered the animals and destroyed the equipment. However, there were liquidation councils that preserved the equipment. Why should I oppose them?

[Danevski] Do you expect any revelations in anything related to last year's export of grain?

[Tanev] Yes, this will happen sooner or later. Hundreds of thousands of metric tonnes of wheat and fodder were exported. It should become clear where this money went to.

Citizens Urged To Reduce Power Consumption

AU2911203893 Sofia BTA in English 1844 GMT 29 Nov 93

[Text] Sofia, November 29 (BTA)—Power supply may well have to be rationed if unit six of the Kozloduy Nuclear Power plant is not started up within two or three days, the Chairman of the Power Engineering Committee Nikita Shervashidze told reporters today.

The energy system got into trouble last Friday when Ukraine announced it was suspending electricity deliveries to Bulgaria. After representations at the government level, Ukraine agreed to carry on power exports until November 28, when the 1,000 megawatt Unit Six of the Kozloduy N-Plant was scheduled to go into operation. On two occasions, however, minor defects were detected and the next start-up attempt will take at least 48 hours. If this attempt fails, the National Electricity Company may have to introduce power supply rationing, so familiar to Bulgarians over the last few years.

Electricity can only be imported from Ukraine, which is experiencing difficulties at the moment, and Turkey, which can only provide half of the required amount. Bulgaria's energy reserves are at a critical minimum, that is why it is impossible to tap hydroelectricity capacities, Mr. Shervashidze explained.

Things about supplies from Ukraine are unclear, it is not known whether it terminates or suspends the agreement, but the necessary representations have been made and the Ukrainians are expected to answer, the Power Engineering Committee chief said. He still expressed the hope that electricity rationing will not be necessary.

The information centre of the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant announced that a government-appointed state acceptance commission will start checking Unit Six. It will be brought on stream only after tests show that its parameters are adequate. Power engineers call on household users to minimize electricity consumption.

Kozloduy Nuclear Plant Sixth Reactor Restarted

AU3011114093 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 30 Nov 93

[Text] Today at 0400 the turbogenerators of the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant Sixth Reactor were restarted and connected to the country's power supply system. At present the reactor is functioning at a capacity of 400 megawatts. After conducting the planned tests and checks the capacity will gradually increase.

The Second Reactor is functioning at 95 percent of its nominal capacity, while the Third and Fourth Reactors are functioning at their full capacity.

Klaus Gives Positive Assessment of ODS Talks

AU2911165793 Prague CTK in English 2242 GMT 28 Nov 93

[Text] Koprivnice, North Moravia Nov 28 (CTK)—No sensations took place at the Civic Democratic Party (ODS) conference, and ODS was shown to be a party which is unified and capable of action, Czech Premier and ODS Chairman Vaclav Klaus said today at the close of the weekend conference.

Klaus said he believed the elections of the new ODS leadership had brought very positive results, and would allow the party to work either as well as it had been doing or better. The conference's resolutions had not brought any visible, noticeable or far-reaching changes in ODS attitudes, Klaus said.

Not even my speech provoked any fundamental protest, he said, adding that this was perhaps something of an expression of the conference delegates' opinions. Klaus said nothing in the discussion of the party's programme had convinced him that the ODS should make any basic changes in its approach. He said he firmly believed there was nothing to change in the ODS' long-term political programme. The medium-term programme he called the present four-year election term, and said he had devoted a considerable part of his introductory speech towards showing how it was being implemented. I did not hear any speeches which were fundamentally against this evaluation, he commented.

The party's short-term programme, Klaus said, consisted in the very election of the people who had been elected, and who carried ODS onwards and represented it in all sorts of posts. There was no sense in trying to create any other sort of short-term programme, he said.

He said an important topic of the conference had been the local elections, and most of those who had spoken stressed the need for good-quality local programmes and for capable individuals to put these programmes into action.

Local administration, he said, was a highly complicated and serious issue. I am glad that the conference has bound us to very serious and detailed work, he added. From the government's viewpoint, it was a question of the state administration being rationalised. I believe that we shall easily manage to delineate the powers of the middle units of local government, and easily decide how big these units should be, Klaus said. No entirely new thoughts were put forward, which would move in any given direction our field of vision concerning this country and the tasks which lie before it, Klaus told journalists.

Asked why there had been no discussion of the restitution of church property, he said that this was an indication of the extent to which this issue was a problem for ODS. It was an indication of the stability of its opinion. Foreign Minister Josef Zieleniec, one of the reelected ODS deputy chairmen, said the ODS was becoming a stable and mature party.

ODS Executive Deputy Chairman Reelected

AU2911165393 Prague CTK in English 1404 GMT 28 Nov 93

[Text] Koprivnice, North Moravia Nov 28 (CTK)—After being unsuccessful in the first round, Petr Cermak was reelected executive deputy chairman of the Civic Democratic Party (ODS) in the second round of voting by 144 votes to 114. Petr Cermak was the only candidate for the post, which he also held previously. The other three candidates proposed, Bohdan Dvorak, Miroslav Macek and Petr Havlik, withdrew their candidacies. In the first round, 126 delegates voted for Cermak and 135 against, with 11 voting papers being invalid.

Jan Strasky, Jiri Vlach and Josef Zieleniec were all reelected deputy chairmen. Out of 270 delegates who returned valid voting papers, 246 voted in favour of Strasky, 234 for Vlach and 259 for Zieleniec. Jan Ruml and Jindrich Vodicka were also proposed to the post, but withdrew their candidacies.

Havel Comments on Foreign Affairs

LD2811153393 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1315 GMT 28 Nov 93

[Interview with Czech President Vaclav Havel by Vladimir Pavrovsky at Lany presidential residence; date not given; from the "Conversations at Lany" program—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Pavrovsky] Mr. President, are you not concerned about certain current developments, for example in Italy where, following local elections, neo-fascists on the one hand and neo-communists on the other are coming into power? Our General Prosecutor's Office, too, is worried about the activation of groups that could be called fascist.

[Havel] This is really a more general phenomenon that is not specific to post-communist countries only. It is a wider phenomenon that concerns the growing terrorism, extremism, and racism that occurs when the more extreme political forces gain political support. This is related to the general state of our civilization, to the rise of large urban agglomerations, and so on. This is the subject of many sociological books.

But I would rather mention another aspect of the Italian example. The point is that what has been recently taking place in Italy is, in my opinion, also a warning signal alerting us to certain dangers intrinsic to modern parliamentary democracies with their electoral systems based on strictly proportional representation. [passage omitted]

One could say that for decades Italy has been in the hands of the established structures of the main political

parties, and such structures eventually breed corruption, scandals, and so on. Such a system seems to somehow ossify political structures and systems. And as we know, Italy is beginning to be aware of this crisis in its electoral system based on proportional representation. I think this really is a warning of which we should take heed.

[Pavrovsky] Mr. President, how do you assess signals from Russia where Primakov, the chief of foreign intelligence, General Grachev, and others clearly try to prevent post-communist countries from joining NATO? To what extent should we take Russia's views into account?

[Havel] On the one hand, no country has any right to tell us what we want to join. Therefore, paying too much attention to Russia's various wishes would in fact constitute our acceptance of some kind of a new great-power division of Europe. The West should treat this issue very carefully or, as a result of accepting certain prejudices still surviving in Russia, it could inadvertently create a new Yalta [agreement].

But there is another side of the coin, as well. I really cannot imagine that without a solid bond between European security structures and Russia, or rather the Commonwealth of Independent States, there can be permanent peace in Europe. Therefore I think that the extension of NATO, which is of so much interest to us and which has its logic and its reasons, should take place against the background of a contractually expressed relationship, based on partnership, between NATO and Russia. [passage omitted]

Zieleniec: Compensation Planned for Nazi Victims

AU3011082493 Prague CTK in English 1813 GMT 29 Nov 93

[Text] Prague, Nov 29 (CTK)—Probably early next year, the Foreign Ministry will submit a draft government resolution to compensate Czech Nazi victims in advance from its own budget to be later refunded by the German Government, Foreign Minister Josef Zieleniec told journalists today.

Zieleniec, who met today with representatives of the Czech Freedom Fighters Union (SBS), an organization which associates World War Two veterans, said that the Social Affairs Ministry, Finance Ministry and perhaps the National Property Fund are to comment on the draft.

We have found a common language with the minister, the SBS Chairman Jakub Cermin told journalists. He added that the SBS members support the steps proposed by him to the government.

According to the SBS information, the compensation would refer to 8,200 political prisoners of world war two, 3,100 widows of the executed prisoners and 300 to 400 orphans. The talks were inaugurated three years ago, since then some 2,500 former political prisoners have died, the SBS stated.

Archbishop Urges Church Property Restitution

AU2911211493 Prague CTK in English 1747 GMT 29 Nov 93

[Text] Prague, Nov 29 (CTK)—During the talks on Church property restitution the state puts the issue politically, thus discriminating the church, Prague Archbishop Miloslav Vlk told CTK today.

Vlk recalled the connection between church property privatization and the removal of the former ideological domination of state over church and the mutual independence in economic affairs.

But the talks about church property privatization have been attacked by the old arguments.

We do not want, of course, to march in the socialist ways, Vlk said when asked about his opinion of the talks about the church property.

That is why the party programs included the privatization slogan: to return the property to the legitimate owner and to sell the property with no owner.

Another fact is that with return of freedom the ideological domination over church disappeared, and both state and church are heading for mutual independence also in the economic sphere, i.e. the church's independence from the taxpayers' money. This necessitates that the church has financial resources, Vlk said.

The whole affair is evidently affected by the communist past. In a democratic society, it is not possible to haggle over law and justice: If special justice is created for the church now, tomorrow the same may happen for others, Vlk stated.

The governing four-party coalition is divided over the issue. The strongest Civic Democratic Party (ODS, 66 deputies in the 200-seat parliament) is opposed to comprehensive restitution. The ODS has stated that only state property may be returned to churches, or municipal property with the approval of the municipality.

The Christian Democratic Party (KDS, 10 deputies) and the Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party (KDU-CSL, 15 deputies) and with some reservations, also the Civic Democratic Alliance (ODA, 14 deputies), advocate comprehensive restitution.

Industrial Output Continues Decline

AU2911204493 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 18 Nov 93 p 3

[Report by Antonin Jilecek: "The Czech Republic's Economic Development from January to September"]

[Text] Industrial output declined by 5.5 percent in September compared with September 1992, and 5.2 percent since the beginning of the year.

Building industry output increased 1.9 percent in September compared with September 1992, and declined 4.1 percent since the beginning of the year. According to an estimate based on 15 October figures, it is expected that 6.45 million tonnes of cereals will be harvested, which is 1.8 percent less than in 1992. The harvest of potatoes will increase by 29.2 percent, and that of sugar beet by 10.6 percent compared with 1992. The harvest of corn for silage and main types of fruits and vegetables (for example apples, cabbage, and carrots) will also be higher.

In nine months, retail turnover reached 304.8 billion korunas, that is, expressed in current prices, it was higher by 24.4 percent and its physical volume increased by 3.6 percent compared to 1992. The volume of exports (without exports to Slovakia) in the January-September period increased 15.7 percent compared with the same period last year. Exports to China, the United States, former Yugoslavia, and EC countries grew at the fastest rate. In the third quarter, the volume of imports (without imports from Slovakia) was higher than the volume of exports. In nine months, imports increased 17.0 percent compared with the same period last year. Imports from Hungary, the United States, China, and Switzerland grew at the fastest rate. There has been a surplus of 0.9 billion korunas in trade balance (without Slovakia) since the beginning of the year, however in the third quarter, there was a deficit in trade with Slovakia and other countries.

The number of job seekers registered at labor offices increased by 28,400 people in the third quarter. Almost half of them were school graduates. At the end of September, 167,000 job seekers were registered, of this 59.5 percent were women and 17.3 percent school graduates. The growth of consumer prices accelerated over the third quarter. After an increase of 0.7 percent in July and August, consumer prices increased 1.4 percent in September compared with August. Compared with December 1992, the level of consumer prices increased by 15.3 percent. Production prices in industry rose at a slower pace compared with the growth of consumer prices, and compared to December 1992, production prices increased by 11.0 percent in industry. Prices for agricultural products increased by 15.4 percent in September 1993 compared with September 1992. Prices for livestock products rose 14.4 percent, and for produce 16.8 percent. The level of income and spending slowed down in September. The unrealized purchasing power [nerealizovana kupni sila] increased by 3.2 billion korunas, of this more than 90 percent was in cash. Over the three quarters, the nominal income increased by 28.2 percent compared with same period of 1992, and reached 441.0 billion korunas. Real income increased by 5.4 percent, compared with the first nine months last year. Spending by people increased 29.4 percent, attaining 418.5 billion korunas. Of this, the populace has spent 58.6 percent for purchase of goods and 17.0 percent for payments [as published] and services. The increase of the unrealized purchasing power reached 22.5 billion korunas over nine months, and increased by 9.7 percent compared with the same period last year.

Nine-Month Foreign Trade Figures Reported

AU2911202493 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 18 Nov 93 p 11

["(pe)"-signed article: "The Czech Republic's Foreign Trade in Third Quarter of 1993"]

[Text] Owing to Czechoslovakia's partition into two independent states, there have been changes in the territorial structure of the Czech Republic's foreign trade, and in the composition of imports and exports. If we exclude the trade with Slovakia, for which there are no data for 1992, imports increased faster than exports within the three quarters of 1993 compared with the same period last year (imports rose 17.0 percent, exports 15.7 percent). The overall value of imports, including imports from Slovakia, reached 258.0 billion korunas [Kc]. Trade balance ended in a surplus of Kc7.8 billion.

From the territorial viewpoint, countries with advanced economy participated in the overall trade turnover (including trade with Slovakia, the share of which was 19.5 percent) with 56.9 percent (EC countries 42.2 percent), countries of the former Soviet Union 9.1 percent, developing countries 6.7 percent, European countries with economy in transition (without countries of the former Soviet Union) 6.0 percent, and countries with the state-run trading system 1.7 percent.

Import prices declined 2.3 percent in the first eight months of 1993, compared with the same period last year, and the index of the physical volume of imports increased, according to a calculation, by almost 19 percent. Export prices increased by almost 3 percent, the physical volume of exports increased by more than 10 percent. The real exchange rate [realna smenna relace] reached 105.3 points.

In trade with the Slovak Republic, the value of imports reached the amount of Kc47.5 billion within three quarters, and the value of exports was Kc54.4 billion. There was a surplus of Kc6.9 billion in trade with Slovakia. Marketable products prevailed in trade in goods, raw materials, and other materials making up 34.3 percent of overall imports and 26.4 percent of overall exports, and machines and transportation equipment 22.5 percent in overall imports and 26.8 percent in overall exports.

Imports from countries with advanced economy increased by 27.8 percent in the first nine months of 1993, compared with the same period last year, and exports increased 17.8 percent. There was a trade deficit of Kc4.6 billion, while there was a surplus of Kc10.6 billion in trade with EC countries. Trade with European Free Trade Association countries ended in a deficit of Kc7.6 billion. Our most important trading partner was Germany with 25.5 percent of the overall foreign trade turnover, followed by Austria (6.8 percent), and Italy (4.8 percent). Machines and transportation equipment

prevailed in imports from countries with advanced economy, representing almost half of all the imported goods and materials, and market products prevailed in exports, representing 31.9 percent of overall exports. Trade with OECD countries continued to develop. Imports from these countries reached Kc144.3 billion, and increased by 21.4 percent compared with the same period last year, exports reached Kc142.1 billion and increased by 12.7 percent. There was a deficit of Kc2.2 billion.

Imports from developing countries increased by 10.2 percent, and exports by 29.4 percent against the January-September period last year, and the trade balance ended in a surplus of Kc11.2 billion. Food and livestock represented 31.8 percent of imports, machines and transportation equipment 32.6 percent. Machines and transportation equipment represented 45 percent of exports, and marketable products as much as 37 percent. The "Asian tigers" (Taiwan, Hong Kong, South Korea, Singapore, and Malaysia) have become interesting trading partners. They participated in the Czech foreign trade turnover with only 1.9 percent, but goods exchange with them is dynamically increasing. Imports from this regions increased by 63.3 percent, and exports by 49.2 percent.

Imports from European countries with transitional economy, without the countries of the former Soviet Union, increased by 10.2 percent, and exports declined by 16.3 percent. There was a surplus of Kc6.0 billion in trade balance. The largest trading partner from this region was Poland with 2.7 percent of the overall trade turnover, and Hungary with 1.6 percent. From the Czech Republic, mainly market products were exported to these countries, making up more than 30 percent, and machines and transportation equipment making up 24.7 percent of overall exports. Mineral fuel, lubricants and similar materials, marketable products, machines, and transportation equipment made up 20 percent of overall imports.

The trade balance surplus with countries with a state-run trading system, which are North Korea, Laos, China, Cuba, Vietnam, and Mongolia, has reached Kc5.9 billion. The volume of imports to these countries increased by 43.7 percent compared with the first nine months of 1992, and exports increased fivefold. Various industrial products were a dominant item in overall imports, making up more than 50 percent of overall imports, marketable products 62.6 percent, and machines and transportation equipment 36.8 percent.

Trade with the former Soviet Union members is continuously declining. Imports reached 86.2 percent of last year's level, and exports 92.0 percent. The trade deficit reached Kc17.6 billion. In the breakdown according to individual groups of products, the import of mineral fuel, lubricants, and similar material prevailed, since also crude oil and natural gas belong to this group. This group made up more than 72 percent of overall imports. The largest group of products in exports were machines and transportation equipment, which made up 48.1 percent of overall exports.

In the breakdown of imports according to individual groups of products, the import of mineral fuel declined 5.2 points to 13.2 percent of overall imports during the January-September period, compared with the same period last year. The import of the most important types of mineral fuels has remained approximately at last year's level. Over the three quarters of 1993, 4.4 million tonnes of crude oil have been imported (5.2 million in the same period last year), and 5.3 billion cubic meters of natural gas (5.1 billion cubic meters in the same period last year). The import of machines and transportation equipment increased by 2.1 points to 37.4 percent, and various industrial products by 2.3 points, reaching 11.3 percent. The amount of imported food, livestock, and raw materials other than fuel has declined.

The export of machines and transportation equipment grew rapidly by 3.9 points, making up 28.3 percent of overall exports in the three quarters of 1993. On the other hand, the share of food and livestock in exports declined by 2.4 points, reaching 6.0 percent. The share of the most important item in exports, marketable goods (32.5 percent of overall exports), slightly declined.

Daily Reports Investment Situation in Skoda

AU2911143493 Prague CTK in English 2226 GMT 26 Nov 93

[Text] Prague Nov 26 (CTK)—Today's meeting of the Volkswagen [VW] supervisory board is expected to decide the amount of VW's investments into its partner company Skoda in Mlada Boleslav.

Skoda is planning to reduce the original scale of investment from the 8.235 billion DEM [German marks] by the year 2000, planned in the 1991 feasibility study, to 3.749 billion DEM, the Czech economic daily HOSPODARSKE NOVINY reported today.

Czech Industry and Trade Deputy Minister Radomir Sabela, who is also vice-chairman of the Skoda company, confirmed after yesterday's meeting of the parliament Economic Committee that the VW-Skoda joint venture agreement of 1991 did not contain any VW pledge to invest billions of Deutsche marks in Skoda and that the feasibility study was not binding for VW.

Keeping to the promised investments is not the main thing, Sabela said, adding that what was important was that VW keeps to the development program. He said Skoda was expected to end this year with a loss, but according to German accounting it would make a profit.

With 220,000 cars planned to leave production lines this year, Skoda is the only trade-mark within the VW group to register a production increase.

I'm sure we have instruments that will help us to negotiate specific issues effectively with VW, Sabela said.

Volkswagen, now holding 31 percent of the VW-Skoda stock, expects this share to rise to 70 percent by the end of 1995.

According to HOSPODARSKE NOVINY, a substantial change in Skoda's plans is a decision not to build a new engine construction area at Mlada Boleslav. The current engine will remain in production until 1998 and stronger engines for the new "A" model, to come out in the latter half of the 1990's, will at first be assembled from imported components and later on Skoda and Czech companies will join in. After 1998 Skoda would like to produce a modern engine of its own, chairman of Skoda, Ludvik Kalma, has said.

Skoda's original intentions can be fulfilled even though investments have been substantially reduced because the present recession allows the company to purchase equipment 30-percent cheaper. Costs can be cut also through a lower degree of automation in the new factory where the "A" model will be produced.

In negotiations with VW, the National Property Fund (FNM) above all wants Skoda to maintain its production goals, i.e. the manufacture of a new model and innovation of the existing ones to which the whole domestic supplier industry is linked, FNM Chairman Tomas Jezek said in an interview for Czech Television channel CT 1 last night.

Railroad Worker Unions Cancel Planned Strike

AU2911164793 Prague CTK in English 1249 GMT 26 Nov 93

[Text] Prague, Nov 26 (CTK)—The leadership of the Association of Railway Workers' Trade Unions today canceled the five-hour strike planned for Monday, November 29, the Association's Deputy Chairman Jiri Ryvola told journalists.

The union leaders made the decision after they were acquainted with a draft agreement reached by union representatives and Transport Minister Jan Strasky this morning.

The agreement includes the reduced fares tariffs issued earlier by Strasky. Railway workers' families will pay a lump sum of 100 korunas (about $3) which will allow them to buy half-price tickets and will also receive six free tickets after their relative has worked for one year on the railways.

Another option is for relatives to pay a lump sum of 500 korunas for a year's travel, in which case they would not have to pay even half price for tickets.

Strasky said these new tariffs would be valid for as long as Czech railways remained under its present state ownership.

Today's agreement also said that other matters concerning fare and transport advantages would be covered in further negotiations with the trade union bodies.

In the last three years there have been several similar strike threats by railway workers.

Republicans Call for Early Elections

AU2911184993 Prague CTK in English 1509 GMT 29 Nov 93

[Text] Prague, Nov 29 (CTK)—The extreme-right Assembly for the Republic-Czechoslovak Republican Party (SPR-RSC) is urging that general elections be called early in the Czech Republic, Jan Vik, SPR-RSC secretary, told CTK today.

The party, which is led by Miroslav Sladek, believes that unfair methods were used during voting for the leadership at the weekend party conference of the Civic Democratic Party (ODS) at Koprivnice, north Moravia. The SPR-RSC claims the results of the ODS balloting were manipulated and that similar methods also might have been used in the general elections last year, when the ODS received an incredible number of votes, and in the presidential elections during which most ODS deputies opposed the election of Vaclav Havel, Vik says.

Yesterday morning's leadership vote was repeated after an irregularity was discovered. Due to a technical error, the number of ballot papers returned was found to be four higher than the number distributed, and also higher than the number of delegates present in the hall. A motion was proposed and passed that the elections therefore be repeated.

Social Democrats To Vote Against 1994 Budget

AU2911170593 Prague CTK in English 1413 GMT 29 Nov 93

[Text] Brno, Nov 29 (CTK)—Only coalition yes-men or economic dilettantes can approve of the budget bill, described by the government as balanced, Czech Social Democratic Party (CSSD) Deputy Michal Kraus told journalists today.

Not only will CSSD deputies not support the budget, he said, but by voting against it they will show they have lost confidence in the government, he added.

By pronouncing the economic reform over, Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus and thereby the Civic Democratic Party (ODS) have cast themselves in the same tragicomic role once assumed by erstwhile Czechoslovak President Antonin Novotny, when he said in 1960 that socialism had been achieved, Kraus said.

The end result of economic reform should be above all a more efficient economy, Kraus said, adding that while reflecting no such increase in efficiency, the budget reveals the opposite is true.

One may ask if what the government strove for was a reform intended to increase the overall efficiency of Czech economy or whether it only aspired to allow government members' next of kin and various sponsors to fill their own pockets, Kraus said.

If the government wants to continue reform, it is appropriate to ask, in view of its feet-dragging on local government reform, whether it is not beginning to act in an anti-reform manner and whether it will continue to enjoy people's confidence, Kraus said.

Council of Europe Official Discusses Membership

AU2911165193 Prague CTK in English 1653 GMT 26 Nov 93

[Text] Prague, Nov 26 (CTK)—The Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (CE) has no doubts regarding the Czech Republic's future development, Assembly President Miguel Angel Martinez said today at a meeting with Czech Parliament Chairman Milan Uhde.

Martinez, who arrived in Prague late last night for a three-day visit, spoke of the Czech Republic as a stable and safe country and compared it to Belgium.

Among major topics with which the CE Parliamentary Assembly was currently dealing was the expansion of the CE membership, Martinez said. He appreciated the Czech CE representatives' possession of a high level parliamentary culture and information which is necessary for parliamentary activity. They can thus play a linking role between the assembly and delegations of new member states who lack such experience, Martinez said.

He said that with the expansion of the CE the budget of the institution would double within three years, which would lead to similar increases in membership subscriptions.

Uhde said that every country which wanted to join the CE and was qualified to should be accepted, adding that CE member countries should bear the financial consequences of such expansion.

Martinez spoke in favor of the largest possible number of members in the Czech parliament's permanent delegation to the CE Parliamentary Assembly participating in its activities, and invited Uhde to come to Strasbourg to take part in the assembly's actions.

Uhde said that starting from January 1, 1994, the Czech parliament would adopt a new working rhythm under which one week in every month would be dedicated to foreign policy activities.

He informed Martinez that the Constitutional Court was already active in the Czech Republic and that 14 of its obligatory 15 justices have been already named. The last justice would be nominated in the near future. Uhde recalled that at the time of the Czech Republic's admission to the CE reservations were voiced because the Constitutional Court was not yet functioning.

Meciar Airs Views on HZDS-SNS Coalition Talks

AU2911185993 Prague CTK in English 1505 GMT 29 Nov 93

[Text] Bratislava Nov 29 (CTK)—The coalition talks held today between the Movement For a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) and the Slovak National Party (SNS) focused on the draft budget for 1994 and organization of a meeting of the HZDS and SNS parliamentary deputies, Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar said today.

Speaking on Slovak Radio, Meciar said that the meeting scheduled to be held tomorrow in Casta-Papiernicka near Bratislava would make a political decision that would be of decisive importance for the draft state budget for 1994, which the government intended to submit to the parliamentary committees by the end of this week.

The agenda of today's talks also included the prepared integration and new organization of the state administration in Slovakia. Meciar said he believed that the discussion on the bill on the state administration would be delayed, but its draft principles would be discussed at the next parliament session.

As a HZDS coalition partner, the SNS had reservations about the final model of the state administration, organization of education and environment policy. That is why the HZDS has recommended that the pace of settling these questions be slower and more reserved, Meciar said.

The HZDS disagrees with the disclosure of part of its coalition agreement with the SNS concerning former Privatization Minister Viliam Sobona. Given the fact that Mr. Sobona does not leave the politics, the HZDS disagreed with the disclosure, Meciar said.

SNS Chairman Ludovit Cernak spoke about the efforts to publish the agreement's contents on Television on Sunday. Cernak was thus reacting to accusations that in supporting the motion of no confidence in Sobona on November 17, some SNS deputies acted counter to the coalition agreement.

Meciar said that the possible dismissal of Slovak Prosecutor General Vojtech Bacho due to present shortcomings in the operation of his office was also discussed at today's meeting, but the timing of the dismissal has not yet been specified.

'Sharp Polemics' Reported at SNS Meeting

AU2911170193 Prague CTK in English 2012 GMT 27 Nov 93

[Text] Martin, Central Slovakia Nov 27 (CTK)—The discussion of internal party matters during today's meeting of the Slovak National Party (SNS) Central Council not only went longer than expected, but, according to several sources, gave rise to some sharp polemics. The meeting was held behind closed doors.

According to one source who requested anonymity, after one heated verbal bout between Vice-Chairman Igor Uhrik and Zilina Mayor Jan Slota, Uhrik gave up his post and left the room and Slota left the room and went back home.

SNS Parliamentary Deputy Miroslav Kona called upon the Council to censure members Vladimir Miskovsky and Anton Hrnko for making statements that called into question the coalition agreement with the ruling Movement For a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS). One cast doubt on the coalition when he stated that we have been dragged into a swamp, the other when he announced, in essence, that he was leaving and finished with the Slovak National Party. Kona emphasised, however, that he was not making a suggestion for the expulsion of the two. He also took exception to Uhrik, he said.

Party Chairman Ludovit Cernak confirmed, however, that a proposal to expel Miskovsky had come up.

According to the party's press spokeswoman, Vice-Chairman Peter Sokol announced that he would step down from his party function while serving as vice-chairman of the Supreme Inspection Office.

Uhrik Views Resignation, Conflicts Within SNS

AU3011082593 Prague CTK in English 1818 GMT 29 Nov 93

[Text] Bratislava, Nov 29 (CTK)—Igor Uhrik said today he had decided to resign from his post of the First Deputy Chairman of the Slovak National Party (SNS) because several heads of SNS district councils tried to wrangle over, the allegedly anti-coalition statements made earlier by himself and SNS deputies Vladimir Miskovsky and Anton Hrnko.

They wanted to draw conclusions from these statements, Uhrik told Slovak Radio, adding that he has never spoken against the coalition between the SNS and the Movement For a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) but only supported President Michal Kovac in his conflict with the Government Office against Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar who is HZDS Chairman.

Uhrik stressed that his statements could be interpreted as being against the coalition only if the coalition's goal was the HZDS-SNS joint opposition against Kovac.

Uhrik said he had refused that the SNS Central Council vote on his statements, and therefore he gave up his post. In fact it was an inquisition trial, he underlined.

He said that already some time ago he began to be subjected to a defaming campaign, including allegations that he was an agent of the CIA or of the communist StB [State Security] secret police. Relevant documents have been manufactured to prove this, Uhrik noted. Baseness and dirty tricks are not surprising in Slovakia, he said.

Uhrik offered his resignation at the session of the SNS Central Council on November 27. The council did not accept the resignation.

KDH Doubts HZDS To Win Next Election

AU2911165993 Prague CTK in English 2053 GMT 28 Nov 93

[Text] Bratislava Nov 28 (CTK)—It has to be asked if the Movement For a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS), given its unstable coalition, should not reconsider its attitude to early parliamentary elections, since in a year's time it might not be able to get into parliament at all, Christian Democratic Movement (KDH) Deputy Josef Polacek said in a television discussion this evening.

Deputy Chairman of the Democratic Left Party (SDL) Pavol Kanis said he considered it strange that after the HZDS formed a coalition with the Slovak National Party (SNS) no new manifesto was drawn up. To a certain extent, this might be an expression of the SNS' identification with several of the HZDS' views, Kanis said, if it were not that the current situation seems to smell of the SNS denying its own subjectivity. I cannot imagine our party going into a coalition with someone without issuing a new manifesto, he said.

Chairman of the SNS Ludovit Cernak said the SNS was prepared to honour its coalition agreements. However, he also added that at Saturday's [27 November] meeting of the SNS Central Council, reason had prevailed and Vladimir Miskovsky and Anton Hrnko had not been punished for criticising the coalition agreement in the media, as a certain group had wanted them to be.

When the discussion turned to Slovakia's economic problems, Cernak admitted that the present restrictions were much tougher than the federal Czechoslovak ones had been. However, this had to be seen in the context of the recession in Europe.

The chairman of the Hungarian minority movement Egyutteles, Miklos Duray, reminded Cernak that his party had promised affluence to Slovaks after the breakup of Czechoslovakia. But it's so far away we can't even see it, Duray added.

Alliance of Democrats Elects Chairman, Deputies

AU2911165593 Prague CTK in English 2250 GMT 28 Nov 93

[Text] Bratislava Nov 28 (CTK)—Milan Knazko was elected chairman of the Alliance of Democrats of the Slovak Republic (ADSR) at the ADSR constituent congress today.

Rudolf Filkus and Jan Budaj were elected ADSR deputy chairmen.

At a press conference in a break of the alliance's congress, Knazko said the ADSR's main goal would be the quality of its rank-and-file members and a willingness to cooperate. The alliance does not want to be huge.

Knazko said the ADSR wants to avoid mistakes made in the past. We don't want to play at politics, we want to work professionally, and so in the centre as well as in the regions we need to have people with organisational abilities who will not give way to apathy, he said.

Filkus said that mainly businessmen, financiers and doctors were becoming members of the alliance, which should guarantee a membership different from that of the Movement For a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS).

Knazko said the alliance's programme was a starting point for the analysis of the situation in Slovakia. The economic, social welfare and foreign policy sections of the programme had already been prepared. The other points of the programme were still to be drawn up.

Filkus added that the ADSR programme was conceptual in character.

The ADSR would like to find understanding with parties which put emphasis on the continuity of economic transformation, protection of the individual and property and development of business activities, and which do not seek to apply state dirigisme. In this connection, Knazko mentioned part of the Slovak National Party (SNS), the Christian Democratic Movement (KDH) and the Conservative Democratic Party (KDS).

The constituent congress was attended by Slovak President Roman Kovac and U.S. Charge d'Affaires in Slovakia Eleanor Sutter.

Hungarian-Slovak Economic Relations Outlined

AU2911205893 Prague CTK in English 1741 GMT 29 Nov 93

[Text] Budapest, Nov 29 (CTK)—The volume of trade between Hungary and Slovakia amounted to $246 million in the first nine months of 1993, the Hungarian Ministry for Foreign Economic Relations announced today.

Hungarian exports to Slovakia were worth $82.8 million in the period, while imports amounted to $163.2 million. The Ministry said that the volume of trade between the two countries had not practically changed since the split of the Czechoslovak Federation on January 1, 1993. Hungary is Slovakia's sixth biggest trade partner. Slovakia is 18th among the countries to which Hungary exports its goods and 13th among Hungary's suppliers.

Farm produce and foodstuffs form some 25 percent of Hungarian exports to Slovakia. Exports of machinery amount to 18 percent. Materials and semifinished products constitute over 50 percent of Hungarian imports from Slovakia comprise, while the energy imports form 16 percent of the overall imports.

The Hungarian Ministry said that the favorable development of Hungarian-Slovak economic cooperation had resulted in the revival of direct contacts between the two countries' enterprises and businessmen. Over 10,000 firms participate in bilateral trade, and 330 joint-ventures have been established.

Hungarian Border Regions Demand Cooperation

AU3011082693 Prague CTK in English 1852 GMT 29 Nov 93

[Text] Budapest, Nov 29 (CTK)—Local representatives of regions lying on both sides of the Slovak-Hungarian border meeting here today formally requested the two governments to express their support for cross-border cooperation schemes.

Bi-governmental support is essential if the regions are to gain financial aid from the European Association of Cross-Border Regions. Association's Secretary Jens Gabbe said that cooperation programs must help to improve relations between the communities on both sides of the border.

The border regions would use financial aid to develop closer cooperation in environmental protection.

Hungarian-Slovak cooperation is already closer in the sphere of culture and the economy after a bilateral agreement in these areas was signed in spring this year.

Statistical Office Reports 1993 Economic Results

AU2911192693 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 20 Nov 93 p 3

[Report by Ivan Podstupka: "The Highest Wages Are Paid in the Smallest Enterprises"]

[Text] Bratislava—The Slovak Statistical Office has solved the problems arising from the division of the data bases of the former federation and mastered the methods for the determination of the fundamental macroeconomic indicator, the gross domestic product. Slovak Statistical Office Chairman Rudolf Krc reported this at a news conference yesterday.

Last year, the gross domestic product reached 179.5 billion Slovak korunas [Sk] (per quarter—Sk44 billion, Sk45.6 billion, Sk45.9 billion, Sk44 billion). In the first quarter of 1993, the GDP amounted to Sk41.6 billion, in the second, Sk43.3 billion, and in the third, Sk44 billion, i.e. Sk128.9 billion for the three quarters. A cautious estimate by the Slovak Statistical Office for the last quarter is Sk42.2 billion, so the GDP should reach Sk171.1 billion for the year. That would be 95.3 percent of last year's total, i.e. a decline of 4.7 percent. Krc pointed out certain signs of improvement, so the GDP in the last quarter and thereby also for the year could be somewhat higher.

The Statistical Office also released data on this year's inflation. The rate of inflation was 11.8 percent in the first quarter, 2.9 percent in the second, and 4 percent in the third quarter. According to Krc, the annual rate comes to 14.2 percent. A more graphic illustration can be obtained from a comparison between the average figures for the third quarter of 1993 and December 1992—19.3 percent increase, or a comparison between September and the beginning of 1993—21.2 percent. Because of the difference between methods used, these figures differ from those reported by the National Bank of the Slovak Republic.

Over the nine months of the year, the population collected nominal wages in the amount of Sk170.6 billion, which is a 17.4-percent increase over last year, but a decline of 3.8 percent if expressed in real wages. A comparison of spending is of interest—over the same period, Sk174.9 billion was spent (23.1 percent more than last year). The spending was Sk4.3 billion higher than income, which indicates that the population covered some of its needs from savings.

According to preliminary data, the average monthly salary of workers in the Slovak economy reached Sk5,428 in the third quarter of 1993, 4.5 percent more than in the preceding three months (a decline of 0.4 percent in real wages). It was Sk5,104 for nine months, which is 20.4 percent more nominally than over the same period in 1992, but it is 1.4 percent less in real terms. The average salary in the third quarter reached Sk5,371 in organizations with 25 and more employees, and Sk7,578 in enterprises with fewer than 25 employees. The salary in the budget-funded, subsidized, and social organizations amounted to Sk4,936, while tradesmen paid Sk6,300.

The number of workers in the national economy reached 1.967 million, 628,000 of which were employed in the private sector. According to the records of the Slovak Ministry of Labor, Social Affairs and Family, there were 351,600 job seekers at the end of October (1,600 more than in September) and unemployment reached 13.8 percent. Labor offices offered 8,303 vacancies (1,225 fewer than in September). Unemployment benefits were collected by 124,200 citizens in October.

The report on financial management of enterprises over the first nine months sounds optimistic. Profits (the total balance of gains and losses of the organizations) rose by 26.6 percent in comparison with the same period of last year. The profits grew by Sk2.4 billion in the third quarter—in comparison with the second quarter—which represents, after adjustment for price developments, an increase of 28.6 percent. Power generation, and gas and water production and distribution were the most profitable sphere.

Over the first eight months of 1993, Sk109.7 billion worth of merchandise was imported to Slovakia, while Sk107.2 billion worth of goods was exported. Hence the trade balance shows a deficit of Sk2.5 billion. The trade with the Czech Republic shows a surplus of Sk3.9 billion. Imports from the Czech Republic amounted to Sk40.8

billion (31.7 percent of total imports), while exports to the Czech Republic totalled Sk44.7 billion (41.7 percent of total exports). The trade balance with the states of the former USSR shows a deficit of Sk14 billion.

Economy Minister: Foreign Investment 'Welcome'

AU2911192893 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 26 Nov 93 p 2

["br, mh"-signed report: "No Fear of Investment"]

[Text] Bratislava—Minister of Economy Jan Ducky yesterday met with a group of German and Arab journalists, who inquired about the flow of foreign capital to Slovakia. The minister told the guests that 350 organizations founded by his ministry are to be privatized in the second privatization wave. They represent a value of 210 billion Slovak korunas [Sk]. Slovakia would naturally welcome the widest possible foreign interest. It is ready to offer at least one-third of this volume, that is, Sk70 billion worth of property, to foreign capital. According to the minister, all legislative conditions for this have been created.

We will welcome foreign capital, in particular, in investment-intensive branches. We do not intend to issue any orders to foreign investors but are ready to respect their interests. However, the terms of cooperation will be studied just as thoroughly as everywhere in the West.

How will foreign would-be buyers find out about the conditions of privatization? Every director of a company that is earmarked for privatization is required by law to provide exhaustive information on these conditions and the same applies to the appropriate ministry.

The journalists inquired about our arms industry.

"Slovakia has a reputation as though it supplied the whole world with weapons," Minister Ducky said. It is only because of the limited scale of our industry that the arms industry accounts for such a high proportion of it. Moreover, from the global viewpoint, we have converted only a minimal portion of this industry to peaceful purposes. Here, too, we will welcome participation by foreign capital. We offer to it the capacity of free production halls and a highly skilled labor force.

Government Adopts Consumer Tax Laws, Awaits Budget

AU2911202893 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 24 Nov 93 pp 1,2

[Report by Marcela Kostalova: "Wine, Apparently With Lower Taxes"]

[Excerpts] Bratislava—Yesterday, in the opening of a news conference during a regular session of the Slovak Government, Deputy Prime Minister Julius Toth informed about the approved parcel of five bills on consumer taxes (wine, beer, alcohol, fuel and lubricants, and tobacco products).

These bills arose from a law that became too complex and no longer solved the new topical problems. [passage omitted]

Regarding the 1994 budget, Toth does not expect a provisional budget mentioned by Party of the Democratic Left Chairman Weiss, and the deputies will receive the actual draft budget as early as at the beginning of next week.

Culture Minister Dusan Slobodnik introduced a bill on state decorations. [passage omitted]

The government also approved the proposal submitted by members of the Children and Youth Fund, a draft Memorandum on Liberalization of Trade Relations Between the Slovak Republic and Romania, and a proposal on creating a Slovak national system of accreditation.

Entrepreneurs Threaten To Withhold Budget Payments

AU3011091693 Bratislava SME in Slovak 26 Nov 93 pp 1, 2

["asa, ec"-signed report: "We Do Not Want Any Privileges"]

[Excerpts] Poprad—Some 1,500 members and supporters of the Party of Entrepreneurs and Tradesmen (SPZ SR) met at a protest rally at the Poprad indoor ice rink yesterday.

"We do not want any privileges from the government, we are not calling for a solution to the tax problems for purely personal aims and benefits, we do not demand from the government anything for free, and we have no craving for ministerial seats," SPZ SR Chairman Vladimir Randa said in his speech. Neither National Council of the Slovak Republic [NRSR] Chairman Ivan Gasparovic nor President Michal Kovac accepted the entrepreneurs' invitation to attend the rally. The president did, however, dispatch two staffers from his office. The rally was addressed by NRSR deputies for the Christian Democratic Movement and the Party of the Democratic Left. [passage omitted] The Association of the Entrepreneurs of Slovakia was not among the rally's organizers but, according to Vladimir Randa, it welcomes the rally and sees in it one of the ways of dealing with the situation. [passage omitted]

The theme of most of the entrepreneurs' speeches was: Why should we pay contributions to the Employment Fund when the state does not? This idea also found its way into the joint statement, which was approved by all the participants.

In their statement, the participants in the rally called on the Slovak Government "to end its hazardous game with the nation and Slovakia." At the same time, they called on the government to cooperate with them in the spheres of legislation, finance, and privatization. In the event of

the government's refusal to attend talks with the participants in the entrepreneurs' protest rally at Stropkov on 5 December 1993, the participants in the rally recommended "paying the full levies to the employees themselves and not surrendering them directly to the state budget." Asked by SME whether this could be considered a declaration of civil disobedience, Vladimir Randa replied: "There is still enough time for such a step, which would be taken only if certain circumstances do not come about." At its rally, the SPZ SR also expressed full support for the president of the Slovak Republic, confidence that he will be the guarantor in the sphere of privatization, and the assurance that, also in the future, the president will have "a firm supporter" in the SPZ SR.

Kovac Talks With Soldiers About NATO

AU2911204893 Bratislava REPUBLIKA in Slovak 24 Nov 93 pp 1, 2

[TA SR report: "President Among Soldiers"]

[Excerpts] Michalovce, Presov—Slovak President Michal Kovac arrived yesterday in eastern Slovakia for one-day visit. [passage omitted]

At a meeting with officers and civilian employees of the Presov garrison, which he visited in the afternoon, Slovak President Michal Kovac stated that the entry of Slovakia into NATO and the West European Union is a wish of all parliamentary and almost all extraparliamentary political entities. A cooperation with NATO would, according to him, furnish a significant economic stimulus as it would evoke a greater feeling of security among potential Western investors, and thereby accelerate the expansion of economic and political stability eastwards. "I am convinced," Michal Kovac emphasized, "that a closer integration with NATO and West European Union members will not present any threat to the Russian Federation or Ukraine. I believe that NATO and the West European Union will find with both of these states a suitable form of cooperation that will contribute to security in Europe and the world," he added. [passage omitted].

TV Denies Plans To Reduce Hungarian Broadcasts

AU3011092493 Bratislava REPUBLIKA in Slovak 23 Nov 93 p 3

[Letter from Miroslav Majoros, deputy central director of Slovak Television, to Bela Bugar, chairman of the Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement: "Ethnic Broadcasts Without Harm"]

[Text] Esteemed Mr. Bugar,

It was with great surprise that we received your letter, in which you protest against the alleged reduction of the extent of ethnic broadcasts on Slovak Television. This piece of information is not based on truth, because the proposed structure of broadcasts for 1994 that we have submitted to the Slovak Television Council provides for weekly periodicity of the Hungarian-language magazine, that is, it is to be broadcast 52 times a year (of which 13 programs are to come from the Kosice television studios). We expect the Slovak Television Council to endorse this proposal. For this reason, we consider it extremely irresponsible of you to have provided this unverified piece of information to Walter Schwimmer, member of the Council of Europe Political Committee. We would be very glad if you could set this right.

We hope, Mr. Chairman, that this was an instance of misunderstanding, resulting from unverified information, and not an evil intention. The Slovak Television management regards ethnic broadcasts as being equal in value with Slovak-language broadcasts and it complies with all legal norms of the Slovak Republic in this regard. We ask you to inform the supreme bodies of your party and your party members in this spirit.

With greetings,

Engineer Miroslav Majoros, deputy central director of Slovak Television.

Slovak Soldiers Not Hurt by Gas in Gulf

AU3011092093 Prague CTK in English 2018 GMT 29 Nov 93

[Text] Prague, Nov 29 (CTK)—No physical or mental problems have been detected among the Slovak soldiers who had been involved within the Czechoslovak antichemical unit in the 1991 Desert Storm operation, Chairman of the Slovak Army health service Stanislav Pirosik said today.

He reacted to the information published in Czech media on the damaged health of the Czechosiovak antichemical unit troops. He said that his statements were based on evidence from direct participants of the operation according to whom the unit had measured low levels of unspecified chemical substances.

Doctors Comment on Antall's Condition

AU2611141893 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 26 Nov 93 pp 1,3

[Unattributed report: "Jozsef Antall Needs Active Treatment"]

[Text] The statement of the Prime Minister's Press Office says: In connection with Prime Minister Antall's state of health, in the name of the medical team that carries out the treatment, Dr. Volker Diehl and Dr. Gyorgy Nemeth, university lecturers, announce the following:

"In spite of the fact that the parent cell transplantation and the related therapy carried out in the No. 1 Clinic of Cologne University resulted in a complete remission of the disease in the lymph organs, a new manifestation has appeared in the blood-forming organs that requires active treatment." Regular reports will be issued on the condition of the prime minister, the Press Office's statement says.

In accordance with the order of substitution, during Antall's repeated hospital treatment, Interior Minister Peter Boross will perform the prime ministerial duties, deputy government spokesman Ferenc Kavin told MAGYAR HIRLAP. He added that they did not have any information on the length of the prime minister's hospital treatment.

According to medical expert view, the new manifestation in the lymph organs means that the disease is flaring up again. The active treatment can mean the continuation of the therapy applied in Germany. To our enquiry whether professor Dr. Volker Diehl, leader of the medical team that treated the prime minister in Cologne, is in Budapest, we did not receive any information from the SOTE Medical University Hospital's Internal Medicine Diagnostics Duty Service.

According to our medical expert's view, the data that has so far been published is not enough to assess the patient's real condition. Undoubtedly, the detailed medical data is only a concern of the patient and his relations. However, it certainly seems to be obvious that the therapies usually applied in similar clinical cases appear now to be ineffective. This is the only reason a promising but hitherto not-widespread intervention could have taken place. This is the reason the treatment was carried out in Germany—a treatment whose success is not yet clearly proved.

The medical report that has been published indicates an unfortunate change. Namely, that the malignant cell line has appeared in the blood-producing organs. This is very possible because the the cells that are dominant in the lymph organs, namely the lymphocytes and monocytes [monocita] are also constituent parts of the bone marrow. This means that a significant change has not taken place in the stage of the illness. However, much depends on the personality and the general condition of the patient. On the basis of information received, it is not possible to say to what extent and from when Prime Minister Antall will be capable of conducting his affairs.

New Treatment Considered

AU2911180093 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 27 Nov 93 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Boross To Replace Antall for A Longer Time"]

[Text] There is no contradiction in the content of statements issued this week on the prime minister's state of health—[Government Spokesman] Judit Juhasz told journalists on 26 November. Judit Juhasz reminded the journalists that the treatment in Germany succeeded in suppressing Jozsef Antall's "original illness," the so-called non-Hodgkins lymphoma.

According to the statement issued on Thursday evening [25 November], a new problem has emerged: This time, the illness attacked the blood-producing organs. Judit Juhasz could not tell whether Jozsef Antall would again be treated in Germany, but she promised to provide regular information.

The doctors who treated Jozsef Antall at the clinic in Cologne did not wish to answer the questions of our correspondent in Bonn, but other medical experts in Cologne pointed out that the real test of such transplants comes when the patient leaves the "sterile room." Even an ordinary flu is different for an organism with a weakened immune system, one of the experts said. He added that "it is often risky for a patient to leave the sterile room too soon, because he wants to return to his family and work."

Professor Diehl, who spent a day at the Kutvolgy Hospital in Budapest, also examined Jozsef Antall. He also took blood samples with him that, according to our correspondent in Bonn, will be analyzed by foreign experts. Based on this, it cannot be excluded that a new period of treatment outside Hungary might be necessary, but no decision has yet been made regarding this possibility.

Government officials think that, in any case, there is a need to consider a lasting substitute for Jozsef Antall both in the government, with Interior Minister Peter Boross, and in the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF], with Executive Chairman Sandor Lezsak.

Politicians Debate Storage of Nuclear Weapons

AU2611151293 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 26 Nov 93 p 1

[Correspondent's report: "The Banning of Nuclear Weapons Can Hinder NATO Membership"]

[Text] Not long after it came to light that Soviet nuclear weapons had secretly been stored in Hungary, the possibility of planting such weapons in the country has again

emerged; according to the government's view, this possibility cannot be completely excluded.

Parliamentary deputy Gyorgy Keleti made a proposal to amend the Constitution. According to this, Hungary does not wish to acquire such weapons in the future, either, and foreign powers cannot deliver these through the country or through Hungarian airspace. However, at the meeting of the Parliamentary Defense Committee, the views of Janos Kiraly, deputy head of department at the Defense Ministry, were decisive in this matter. According to this, a reference to foreign power in the amendment of the Constitution can hinder our country's integration into NATO and the West European Union. According to Kiraly: "We must take it into consideration that, after the end of the bipolar system and the Warsaw Pact, there is no nuclear umbrella over Hungary, therefore, this is by all means a key issue of security. For the purpose of self-defense, certain deterrent or prevention, it can become necessary from time to time to plant such equipment in Hungary, to transport it by air, or even to store it." Confirming this, Csaba Hende, cabinet chief of the Defense Ministry, added at the committee's meeting: "Including this in the Constitution would extremely restrict the Hungarian Republic, and it could be an obstacle to possible NATO membership, in fact, it can possibly even prevent membership in NATO."

Known only to a small section of the political leadership, Soviet nuclear weapons were stored in Hungary until 1990 without any written agreement on this issue.

Fur Says Country Faces No Military Threat

AU2911094893 Budapest MTI in English 2051 GMT 26 Nov 93

[Text] Budapest, 26 November (MTI)—"Hungary faces no threat of a serious military aggression from any directions, nor from that of Serbia," Defence Minister Lajos Fur stated at a Hungarian Democratic Forum event in Budapest on Friday [26 November] evening.

"Since fighting went over to Bosnia, there have been no accidental border violations either," he added.

In reply to questions, the minister said that the Hungarian and Yugoslav air forces have been in information contact ever since the 1992 agreement to create a 20-km-wide neutral airspace zone along the common border. Relations are extremely good with the Slovak and Romanian military leaderships as well, he said.

Concerning the level of Hungary's military technology, the minister said that the Russian MiG-29s received as payment for Soviet debts marked a major progress, but the 141 jet fighters possessed by Hungary were still below the limit of 180 set at arms reduction talks in Vienna.

Fur said this year's Army budget of 64 billion forints and the planned 66.5 billion forints for 1994 do not permit higher military expenditures.

Answering a question, the minister said he hoped the second reading of the defence law would end in Parliament by December 7. The political parties fully agree with putting the law into force on January 1, he added.

Walesa on Importance of 'Enlargement' of Europe

LD3011142193 Warsaw PAP in English 1327 GMT 30 Nov 93

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 30—President Lech Walesa on Tuesday said that "Poland does not want money from Western Europe but expects the drawing of an idea of a united Europe and a plan which would permit Poland to fit the European structures."

Walesa, addressing representatives of the parliamentary joint committee of Poland and the European Union, added that the currently "prosperous Europe" is closing in its own structures, leaving Central and East European states in an uncertain position.

According to President Walesa, such an attitude may lead to the rebirth of a confrontation alignment in Europe.

"It is time that counts here," Walesa appealed stating that quick economic and military "enlargement" of Europe is indispensable as the situation in central and eastern part of the continent may worsen even during six months due to Russia's internal problems.

The president told parliamentarians of the European Union that West European countries took advantage of exports possibilities and are "pushing as much as they can" to Poland, while when Poland wants to sell an attractive product "they say no." With such barriers, especially for Poland's food products, we have no chance for development.

Walesa suggested that Poland needs Western support to enter eastern markets. In his opinion this would yet be another chance to enlarge Europe and eliminate divisions. He also stressed that European structures should be joined first by Poland, Hungary, the Czech and Slovak Republics and next by the Baltic states.

UOP Silent on Irish Arms Smuggling Case

WS3011085093 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 27-28 Nov 93 p 1

[Report by D.Pr.: "Arms Smuggling Case—UOP Is Silent"]

[Text] **The Office of State Protection [UOP] continues to refuse to issue any detailed information about the smuggling of arms, ammunition, and explosives to a Protestant terrorist organization in Ireland. No public prosecutors office is conducting any investigation in the case. So far, no arrest or apprehension of any Polish or Irish citizen has been officially announced. It is known unofficially, that the persons who had reached Poland, were closely watched by Polish special services, and then they were most probably taken over by British intelligence. But they were small fish.**

The function of the Polish companies that took part in the transaction, is still not clear. By Friday evening [26 November], the Warsaw Customs Office managed to gather about 90 percent of the information from most of the customs agencies functioning in Warsaw. So far, no documents have been found. The order form issued by "Elox" company, contained a fictitious address. We unofficially found out, that the telephone number listed on the form, is a number for the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and that it is a so-called operational number. It is still not known who the owner of the weapons was. Most probably, it was part of a legal purchase done by licensed companies, the Army, the police, or the Border Guard.

"If UOP was really in charge of the entire operation, its behavior was simply unacceptable. We were carrying a dangerous cargo. A container was loaded with ammunition without us knowing about it. It was placed improperly on the ship. As a result, the crew of the Inowroclaw ship and the ship itself, were exposed to major danger," said Zdzislaw Chmiel, a captain in the Merchant Marine. RZECZPOSPOLITA was unofficially informed, that there was really no danger since the cargo was made safe, and it was being made secure by the UOP. Irena Popoff, UOP press spokeswoman, refused to comment on the captain's statement. She also refused to confirm reports of UOP prohibiting a representative of "Fast Baltic" company from speaking out on the subject. He had been interrogated at the Szczecin branch of UOP.

On Friday, "Fast Baltic" (which had arranged the container's transportation on the order of "Elox" Import-Export company), was supposed to issue a communique about the operation's details. The company's manager told RZECZPOSPOLITA on Friday, that there will be no communique because of a UOP-imposed embargo.

Further on UOP Involvement

WS3011132993 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 29 Nov 93 p 1

[Report by Ewa Turska and Anna Marszalek: "Controlled Delivery; Will Irish Terrorists Have Their Revenge?"]

[Text] **The firearms for Irish terrorists which were smuggled into Britain on board the Inowroclaw ship, were prepared especially for that purpose by the Office of State Protection [UOP]. According to reports by the London SUNDAY TIMES, a group of MI-5 agents arrived in Warsaw as early as August. Along with Polish special services, the agents set the stage for the sting operation.**

The daily says that the chief of British counterintelligence, Stella Rimington [name as published], was establishing contacts with the new intelligence services of the "young democracies," for a period of two years. UOP sent a signal to the MI-5 leadership in London, that they had found the trail of some Northern Irish middlemen, who had tried three times to purchase arms in East Europe. MI-5 agents were immediately dispatched to Warsaw, where they set up an ambush along with UOP officials. UOP's First Division (intelligence) set up a

fictitious company by the name of "Elox," which proposed an arms purchase to envoys representing the Irish terrorists. The provocation was successful—the emissaries purchased the arms, which were delivered by Polish agents and loaded onto the ship under the supervision of MI-5 officers (the captain and crew of Inowroclaw were watched by them 24 hours a day, but they proved clean). The chiefs of MI-5 and of the Customs Office decided to bring the sting operation to an end in London, immediately after the container was unloaded. Counterintelligence officers wanted to supervise the dispatch all the way to Belfast, but the customs officials—not knowing all the Ulster Protestants' connections—were not able to guarantee that the container coming from Poland would not get lost among thousands of other, similar looking ones.

The terrorists most probably paid money into the account of "Elox" (the shipment's value was estimated to be about 250,000 pounds). There are reasonable grounds to fear that the terrorist organization famous for its cruelty will plan to either recover the money or have their revenge.

The discovery of the arms shipment was not perceived unanimously as a UOP success. According to a person who talked to us, that is unjustified, because the measures were carried through correctly, and—what is more important—they were efficient, as well. But it was Britain that directly gained more from the venture. Unfortunately, after the entire operation—and contrary to UOP's intentions—opinions can be heard in the West again that any amount of weapons can be purchased in Poland, or smuggled out of it. These views are categorically denied by the director of the Central Engineering Management.

Daily on Seizure of Ship

AU2911194493 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 25 Nov 93 pp 1,2

[Report by Marek Rybarczyk, Adam Zadworny, Tomasz Przysiezny, and Jerzy Jacowicz: "A Floating Arsenal"]

[Text] British customs have seized the Polish ship "Inowroclaw," carrying a large shipment of weapons ordered by Protestant terrorists in Northern Ireland. The British customs were tipped off by the Polish Office for the Protection of the State [UOP], which had been watching the smugglers all the time.

One container in the ship's hold was found to contain over 300 Kalashnikovs, hand-held weapons, two tonnes of explosives, fuses, grenades, and several thousand pieces of ammunition.

According to the British PA press agency, the explosives were wrapped in Polish Army packaging, but the hand guns were from Russia. But reliable sources in Warsaw claim that the entire weapons cache was manufactured and bought in Poland.

The British MI-6 intelligence service also took part in the seizure of the ship on the night of Tuesday to Wednesday [23-24 November]. This is the largest-ever failed attempt to smuggle weapons into Great Britain.

According to official estimates, the black market value of the cache is 250,000 pounds ($375,000).

The Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF) admitted having ordered the weapons. Terrorists of the UVF said that the seizure of the cache "will cause certain logistical problems," but they will seek new suppliers elsewhere. The stockpile of explosives would have enabled the Protestant terrorists to manufacture bombs, something that has been the IRA's domain until now.

According to different sources, the weapons were destined for the Ulster Freedom Fighters (UFF).

"From the very beginning, secret UOP services have closely monitored the entire operation—the purchase of the weapons, the loading of these weapons onto the ship, and the ship's voyage." Jan Straus, director of the Central Engineering Administration of the Ministry of Foreign Economic Cooperation, which controls the Polish weapons trade, told us yesterday. "Our services 'encouraged' the illegal arms traders to go through with the operation," Straus explained. He considers this a typical "controlled purchase." The traders fell into a trap that had been set for them. "The Polish authorities decided to take this step because the traders can only be placed before a court if they are caught red-handed."

Neither the UOP nor the British services have disclosed whether or not anyone has been arrested. The "Inowroclaw" and its entire crew are due to return to Poland on Friday [26 November].

The weapons were to have been unloaded in Teesport, and from there taken to Northern Ireland. The official receiver of the weapons was the firm John Frackelton and Sons in Belfast. The British customs men explained that the services of both countries refused to allow the container to be transported by road to Liverpool or Stranraer to be loaded onto a ferry there. "The detention of the shipment at Teesport was arranged with the English special services," said UOP spokesman Irena Popoff.

"Inowroclaw" belongs to the Euroafrica company of Szczecin, which operates 124 vessels belonging to Polish Ocean Lines.

"Inowroclaw" plies the Gdynia-Tilsbury-Middlesbrough route. Seamen refer to it as a shuttle. It leaves Gdynia every Friday at 1500. This time it left Poland at 1800. The "Inowroclaw" is a "roll on-roll off" type of vessel, adapted to the carriage of containers and loose loads on a special chassis. It can carry 354 containers. It has a crew of 26.

"The weapons were seized thanks to the efficient functioning of the Polish system that controls trade in goods of this sort," said an official communique from the British customs services.

We were told that the entire process of observing and monitoring the shipment, and later the observation of the "Inowroclaw" itself, lasted several weeks.

The container in which the weapons were found, bearing the number 2030255, was loaded by the firm Elox of Warsaw, said Wlodzoimierz Matuszewski, director of Euroafrica. The weapons were hidden beneath a layer of packets of gelatin (10 tonnes of it, according to the documents). Elox had entrusted the shipment (including the organization of the transport) to the Szczecin firm Fast-Baltic, which reported the container for customs clearance in Warsaw, saying that it contained ten palettes of ceramic tiles.

On 17 November, on instructions from Fast-Baltic, the Gdynia transport firm Scan-Consult delivered the container to the port of Gdynia.

On 19 November, the sealed container was loaded onto the ship without going through customs clearance, because it had already been cleared by customs in Warsaw. The transport firm never knew the contents of the container.

Every firm applying for a concession to trade in weapons is first checked by the Polish Interior Ministry to see whether the firms owners have a criminal record, what their financial condition is, and what the sources of their capital are.

In turn, the documents of all firms wanting to export weapons from Poland are sent to the Central Engineering Administration of the Ministry of Foreign Economic Cooperation, which divides them all into two categories, suspicious and unsuspicious.

The unsuspicious documents are usually certified by Polish diplomatic and other official missions, whereas the suspicious ones are referred to a specialized cell inside the UOP and Military Information Services (military intelligence).

"Legal weapons shipments are monitored by our special services, whose task it is to make sure the shipment reaches its addressee without any hitch," said Jan Straus.

In Poland, there are about 60 firms with a concession to trade in weapons. The biggest is the "Cenzin" foreign trade enterprise, which enjoys 75 percent of total turnover in the weapons trade.

The manufacturers of weapons also hold concessions to deal in them. They export not only firearms, but also commodities like hunting equipment, optical equipment, communications equipment, and uniforms.

In Poland, there is a so-called negative list of countries to which it is forbidden too export weapons. It consists of two parts. The first part, which is not secret, contains those countries that are on the UN Security Council weapons embargo—the former Yugoslavia, Iraq, Somalia, Libya, South Africa, and Liberia.

The second part, which is completely secret, contains countries in which human rights are violated by means of weapons, or in which weapons might fall into the hands of terrorists. It is almost certain that Northern Ireland appears on this list.

The secret part of the list is drawn up by the Foreign Ministry. "This also reflects our economic interests," a high-ranking Foreign Ministry official told us. "If, for example, a serious economic partner of ours threatens to cut trade with us by 50 percent if we export weapons to a particular country, then we will normally place this country on the secret part of the negative list."

The Central Engineering Department grants permission for a transaction on an individual basis. In order to obtain this permission, the purchaser of weapons must sign a written undertaking that he will not resell the weapons to anyone else without the permission of the Polish authorities. Since March 1992—the time of the Rifle Affair—the credibility of this "end-user certificate" is checked by diplomatic means.

The Lucznik firm of Radom is the only Polish manufacturer of Kalashnikov machine guns. "We have nothing to do with this business," Lucznik director Bronislaw Kilian told us yesterday. "We manufacture weapons, we do not sell them."

The head of the Central Unit of the Radom weapons plant told us that the production of the AK-47 was discontinued in Radom 30 years ago, and that of the P-64 short weapon 20 years ago. The Kalashnikovs manufactured after that date have a different serial number. The man in question thinks the weapons involved in the cache were bought from retailers.

Director Kilian explained that the British describe any machine gun of the Kalashnikov type as an AK-47.

Lucznik produces two successors to the Kalashnikov—the 88 and the 89, both of them with a caliber of 5.45 millimeters.

Today, only the Bulgarians manufacture the Kalashnikov. Other versions are produced by the Russians, Chinese, North Koreans, and the countries so former Yugoslavia. The Kalashnikov is considered to be one of the best machine guns in the world, and is favored by terrorists.

Lucznik also manufactures two types of short weapons—the 9-mm PM-84 Makarov, and the 9-mm PM-84 P Parabellum.

The Plastic Substances Plant in Pionki produces various types of gunpowder.

Hand grenades are manufactured by the "Dozamet" Metal Plant in Nowa Deba and the Precision Instruments Plant in Niewiadow (type F- 1), and by the Enamel Vessel Plant in Olkusz (type RG-42).

Ammunition for hand weapons is produced by the "Mesko" Metal Plant in Skarzysko-Kamienna.

Fuses and detonators are produced by the Predom-Termet plant in Nowa Deba, "Mesko," and by the "Erg" Plastic Substances Plant in Bierun.

Deputy Finance Minister on Debt Negotiations

LD2911145193 Warsaw PAP in English 1258 GMT 29 Nov 93

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 29—Deputy Finance Minister Krzysztof Krowacki said on Monday [29 November] that Bulgaria, which has reached an agreement on a 50 per cent debt reduction recently, was holding negotiations with a different group of commercial banks than those with which Poland is trying to reach a debt reduction agreement.

Krowacki, the government's commissioner for negotiations with commercial banks, said he hopes that his partners in future negotiations "would draw conclusions" from the fact of an initial agreement on the 50 per cent reduction of Bulgaria's debt.

Poland is also trying to negotiate a 50 per cent reduction of its 12.3 billion dollar debt to the London Club of commercial bank creditors. He added that there "is a chance to hold another round of negotations with commercial banks still this year, but it is too early to speak of a concrete date."

Poland wants to achieve a debt reduction agreement similar to that signed in 1991 with the Paris Club of creditors, which cut the debt by 50 per cent. A debt reduction agreement with the London Club should, according to the Polish side, cover all components of the debt while payments should not halt the economy's development, that is they should not exceed 400 million dollars a year.

last June, the London Club presented its offer of an agreement with Poland, not taking into consideration, however, earlier agreed principles. The London Club banks proposed a 28 per cent reduction. in reality it would mean an 8 per cent reduction in view of the initial cost of the implementation of such an agreement.

Krzysztof Krowacki, after a meeting with Chairman of the Working Group of the London Club Ernst-Moritz Lippe of Dresdner Bank at the beginning of November, said that another meeting can be held "when there is certainty that it would end in success."

Foreign Ministry Holds Debate, Outlines Priorities

WS3011131093 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 30 Nov 93 p 23

[Article by Maciej Lukasiewicz: "In a New Situation? Polish Republic's Foreign Policy"]

[Text] The internal political situation in Poland has changed, but the international environment and situation of our country remains unchanged; they have not changed suddenly over the past few weeks—such was the conclusion drawn by participants in a 29 November meeting organized by the Foreign Ministry's Planning and Analysis Department. The meeting took place in Warsaw and brought together politicians and experts of different trends. So taking that conclusion into account, should there be a significant change of priorities in Polish foreign policy?

The meeting's participants unanimously answered that question in the negative, because Poland's fundamental interests, linked with its security, are associated with the Western orientation and with participation in such organizations as the European Union or NATO. But Poland should also keep in mind that it has various important interests in the East. Poland should also continue its efforts aimed at strengthening regional cooperation. Our image in the eyes of Western countries depends on our good relations with partners to the East, especially with Russia. This is even more so since our "road to Europe" will be neither simple nor very rapid, as indicated recently by some political developments on the international scene.

There was a lack of a clear Eastern policy—representatives of the left wing said, even though they also pointed out a "diplomatic mistake" which took place in the context of demanding that Yeltsin agree to Poland joining NATO, during his Warsaw visit. According to those left-wing activists, that kind of measure, or option, should be a completely sovereign act on the part of Poland.

Participants in the meeting also pointed out significant difficulties in establishing a foreign policy in a situation where "we have a new world, a new Europe, but we have neither a new world order nor a new European order." One of the participants said that Poland does not put into question Russia's role as a superpower, but it cannot approve of Russia's imperial status. In that context, there was talk about a need to consistently keep building a "Warsaw triangle" comprising Germany, Russia, and Poland, and also about a need to think and talk about our foreign policy "without hysteria," at which some members of the mass media are very good.

It was strongly emphasized that Polish foreign policy should be coordinated by just one person or body, the status of which would be defined by the constitution. There was also talk about effective foreign policy being tied to a solid and well-thought economic policy.

including promotion of Polish industry and trade, and also safeguarding the maintenance of markets the country has been using to sell its merchandise up to now, coupled with establishing new markets. For instance, it was a mistake for Poland to withdraw from the markets of the CIS in connection with the initiation of hard-currency trade calculations, and also the loss of Poland's position in Far Eastern markets. This applies especially to China, which (providing it continues its reforms) is bound to become the world's biggest economic superpower in the not-too-distant future.

In their assessment of the last four years of the work of Polish diplomacy, participants in the meeting (especially representatives of the left wing) concluded that many things could have been done faster and more efficiently. They also said that the diplomacy of the time was perhaps characterized by a "juridical bias" (in terms of treaties concluded) against immediate practical solutions. But even despite that criticism, the righteousness of the main principles of Polish foreign policy adopted during those years was not put into question.

Meetings like the one described here are supposed to form permanent opportunities for an unrestricted exchange of views by representatives of different political groups, centers, and institutions. Social understanding and approval of the fundamental principles of the interests of the Polish state is indispensable. There is also a need to define the interests in question with precision, so as to make it resistant to changes occurring in cabinets, and in politics generally speaking.

Pawlak Appoints Former Miss Polonia Press Secretary

WS3011130493 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 30 Nov 93 p 2

[Report by M.U.: "Ewa Wachowicz New Press Secretary for the Prime Minister"]

[Text] Ewa Wachowicz, Miss Polonia for 1992, was on Monday [29 November] appointed press secretary for Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak.

Asked by a reporter for the television news program "Panorama" why she decided to accept this offer, she replied: "You do not say no to the prime minister."

Ewa Wachowicz is a 23-year-old student at the Food Technology Department of the Agricultural Academy in Krakow. She was born and raised in one of only 100 houses in the village of Kleczany near Gorlice. She does not conceal her rural parentage; on the contrary, she emphasizes it. The press has often speculated that this was the main reason why she was offered this post.

After winning the beauty contest in 1992 in Poland, she came in fourth at the Miss World pageant in South Africa. Her name as a candidate for press secretary for the chairman of the Council of Ministers appeared after the refusals of Aleksandra Jakubowska, a well-known journalist, and Roma Szarzynska, a director in the Ministry of Foreign Economic Cooperation.

A person who "ate a cake baked by Ewa Wachowicz" told us that it was Prime Minister Pawlak's idea to offer this post to her. We also learned that "Ewa is intelligent, brilliant, and very talented," she knows foreign languages, including, among others, Finnish; she has had some experience in journalism, she used to write newspaper stories; she is also not afraid of a television camera because she worked for POLSAT.

Daily Discusses Pawlak's Pact Proposal

WS2911150093 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 29 Nov 93 pp 1, 2

[Article by Pawel Reszka: "It Is Difficult To Make a Deal With the People"]

[Text] Waldemar Pawlak proposed that a social agreement be made. This should happen by the end of this year. However, politicians say that such a date is not possible and the prime minister himself has not presented any concrete suggestions so far.

Therefore, there arises the following question: Does the government really want to make a deal with the people and share his responsibility, or was his proposal just a simple rhetorical ploy? However, if the government decided to really make such an agreement, it would be very difficult to conclude with unionists and employers. In fact, given the present situation it might prove impossible.

First Harbingers

Social agreements are often concluded in crises, in times when the rapidity of the changes that are being implemented and enforced austerity measures call for a consensus. Social agreements are, among others, the agreements signed by the government and "Solidarity" in 1980. The idea of a social pact was also taken up in the Mazowiecki government, but only projects were prepared. Another attempt was made by the Suchocka government. It made the "Pact on Enterprise" with the Confederation of Polish Employers and nine unionist centers (among others, the All-Polish Trades Union Agreement—OPZZ and "Solidarity"). The Pact, however, has not come into force as yet. A step on this road was also establishing a trilateral committee. It was supposed to lead to an agreement between the "main political forces," employees, employers, and the government on income policy. The committee's task was to monitor, evaluate, and formulate opinions on economic issues and forward them to the government. The government, employers, and unionists declared that they will be guided by the rule of consensus in the work of the committee. When the "Pact on Enterprise" was being concluded, other trilateral agreements made in Western countries were mentioned as one of the characteristic features of European labor relations. The pact itself, as well as the establishment of the trilateral committee,

smack of corporative solutions. In political scientific books, one can come across the opinion that corporative decisionmaking is favorable to the economies of small states surrounded by strong neighbors—it allows for countering foreign competition.

The method proves itself when trade unions smoothly cooperate with the government (which is mostly socialist). On the other hand, corporatism is criticized because it restricts the laws of the free market. Such countries as Austria, Norway, and Sweden are said to have a large degree of corporatism.

Without Concrete Proposals

Waldemar Pawlak spoke about a social agreement at a meeting with OPZZ. According to him, such an agreement must include "fundamental parameters of the functioning of the entire social configuration." The prime minister used the example of Germany to show "how far agreements between employees, employers, and the government can go." (It is possible that the prime minister meant the right of German employees to take part in managing their companies).

"Generally, we can speak about such changes as the rate of growth of wages and prices—I am now thinking about commitments that both sides would sign for several years, just to have a clear prospect. This undertaking is so important that we should finalize it by the end of this year, as far as general solutions are concerned." This is what the prime minister said and so far it has been the only concrete proposal.

The Government Press Office does not have any more information on the social agreement. There are rumors that nothing is happening to expedite this issue and the government is busily working on the budget law for next year.

A "Round Table" in Economy

Politicians we talked with had different opinions on the social agreement. On one issue, however, they were unanimous: it does not seem possible to conclude the agreement by the end of the year. Ownership Transformations Minister Wieslaw Kaczmarek is favorably disposed to the idea of a social agreement. Kaczmarek stresses that the prime minister's proposal should be discussed at the sessions of the Economic Committee of the Council of Ministers and the Sociopolitical Committee of the Council of Ministers [KSPRM]. So far, it has only been a political initiative of the prime minister. Leszek Miller, minister of labor and social policy, confirmed that there is only a general vision of the agreement; he was not able to speak about any concrete dates concerning this issue.

Jacek Kuron believes that social agreements should concern the various areas of life, such as reforming the health service or the education system, which would be better than one social agreement encompassing all socioeconomic issues. He also believes, however, that the fact that the government is delaying one of the bills comprising the "Pact on Enterprise" undermines the credibility of this government.

Jerzy Eysymontt of the Non-Party Bloc in Support of Reforms: According to him, they do not make any sense in a democratic state, where the place where agreements can be made is the parliament.

Minister Leszek Miller has more concrete views on the idea of social agreements. However, he too thinks that it is not possible to make a real social agreement by the end of this year, but a good introduction would be negotiating the Charter of Social Guarantees, prepared by OPZZ. It would also be good if the trilateral committee, envisaged in the "Pact on Enterprise," started working. According to Miller, this would lead to a "socioeconomic round table" with the participation of all the interested trade unions, employers, as well as political forces, including those which have found themselves outside parliament.

Smoke Shield

Trilateral agreements are favorable to the government for one reason: they allow it to share responsibility. Those in power can also hope that they will be able to win over union leaders, who are less radical than ordinary union members, to solutions that are favorable from their point of view. Once such an agreement is concluded, it would be only the task of union leaders to persuade the masses not to go on strike.

However, we should remember that in Poland there is not a uniform and strong representation of employers. On the other hand, many trade unions will not support negotiating any kind of agreement with this government. We should, therefore, consider whether the scattered trade unions would be a good guarantee of such an agreement.

A lot depends on the stance of the government as well, because taking part in the process of decisionmaking means not only starting the activities of a trilateral committee and inviting unionists to participate in the sessions of KSPRM. It depends on the influence of their opinions on real decisions: is it a real influence or a smokescreen. (In some countries, even though there are trilateral committees, one cannot speak about participation in decisionmaking).

All this, however, is just speculation. The prime minister made a suggestion which one member of the OPZZ leadership even called a propaganda trick. Concrete proposals will be made in the future, which is hard to define.

Movement for Republic of Poland Splits

LD2911164693 Warsaw PAP in English 1602 GMT 29 Nov 93

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 29—Activists of the regional agreement of the Movement for the Republic of Poland

(RDR) have established a new right-wing party named "The Polish Unity-The Movement For The Republic of Poland (ZP-RDR).

"Until now we were an informal structure acting within the RDR. we thought it necessary to become registered. We intend to participate in all initiatives aimed at the unification of the right-wing parties," leader of the new party Andrzej anusz told PAP on Monday.

The new party aspires to become a moderate right-wing party that recognizes the right of citizens to freedom and property and free market principles as economic basis, Anusz said.

He stressed that his party efforts would concentrate on the unification of the Polish right. He hopes that the RDR congress scheduled for mid-December would resolve to join the coalition formed by the Centre Alliance (PC), the Peasant Agreement (PL) and the Christian National Union (ZCHN).

Anusz announced that this coming Sunday a national conference of centre right parties will be held in Krakow to discuss a draft constitution of the third republic of Poland. He added that his party will propose the establishment of a constitutional commission that would work out a draft constitution common to all right-wing parties. "We want the right-wing parties to present a unanimous stance on Poland's constitution in case a national referendum is held.

Andrzej Anusz, Kazimierz Barczyk and Piotr Wojcik—the new party's founders—were members of the Centre Alliance (PC). After the collapse of the Jan Olszewski government they co-formed the parliamentary floor group of the RDR. During the election campaign they supported the idea of joining the coalition formed by Centre Alliance leader Jaroslaw Kaczynski but were expelled from the party by RDR leadership. Then they formed the regional agreement of the RDR and joined the election campaign with Jaroslaw Kaczynski.

Protesters Head for Rally in Center of Bucharest

AU2911133393 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1100 GMT 29 Nov 93

[Text] At 1100 today, groups of protesters gathered and left from the [Bucharest] industrial center Pipera, Sincai High School, Iancului Square, the Polytechnic Institue, and Grivitei Road and headed for Revolution Square, where a rally organized by the National Trade Union Bloc [BNS] and the Alfa Trade Union Cartel is scheduled to take place around 1330.

According to statements made by the organizers of the rally, the protest action was triggered by the fact that over its past year of activity, the government has proven to be incompetent in mastering social and economic phenomena. As a consequence of this, the leaders of the two trade union confederations have reached the conclusion that all attempts to engage in a dialogue with government representatives would be useless, since the sole solution would be the resignation of the current executive power.

Bucharest Rally Ends

AU2911163093 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1400 GMT 29 Nov 93

[Text] At 1330 today, several columns of people who attended the rally organized by the National Trade Union Block [BNS] with the participation of the Alfa Cartel, made their appearance in the Revolution Square in Bucharest.

Among other speakers, Dumitru Costin, acting BNS president; Romulus Nita, first deputy president of Cartel Alfa; Matei Bratianu, president of the Post Office Workers Trade Union Federation; and Adrian Dumitrescu, president of the 21 December Revolution Association took the floor From the rostrum improvised in the square.

In his address, Mr. Dumitru Costin stressed that the sole demand that comprised the object of the rally was the resignation of the current executive power, which, according to him, is guilty of the current economic and social disaster that the country's population has to face. Trade Union leaders are determined to continue the trade union struggle in all its forms, including a general strike.

Mr. Adrian Dumitrescu said that he supports the protest actions of trade union organizations and asked that those who are guilty of the difficult situation confronting the country should be called to account and brought to justice.

At 1510, Dumitru Costin declared the rally closed and announced other protest actions organized by the Cartel Alfa and with the participation of the BNS on 8 December in Bucharest and on 16 December in Timisoara.

Throughout the rally, anti-president and anti-government slogans were chanted, calling for the unity of trade union movement and calling for a general strike.

At around 1400, a BNS delegation brought to the Government's Office for Relations with Trade Unions and Employers' Association a bag with a few goods representing—as the note issued on the same occasion said—produce that can be bought with (?689,13) lei for a family member a day.

At the same time, the protesters turned in cardboard sheeting with the word "resignation" written on it.

A rally organized by the BNS is currently being held in Brasov, attended by thousands of trade union members representing the major economic units that are associated with the BNS, Alfa, and Hercules confederations.

Ilie Gheorghe, the president of the Infratirea Federation in the sphere of machine building and the major organizer of the rally mentioned that, quote, we do not play anybody's game—neither of the opposition not of the ruling party. Our action has nothing to do with the coming of the king to Romania or his absence from the country, unquote.

In the addresses made and in the slogans voiced, the presidency and government are blamed for the current state of economy, our correspondent informed us.

Iliescu Gives National Day Reception

AU2911203493 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1848 GMT 29 Nov 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 9/11/1993—President Ion Iliescu gave a reception on Romania's national day at the Union Hall of Cotroceni Palace. The guests included the president and speaker of the parliament's chambers, the prime minister, other outstanding members of the legislative and executive, leaders of political parties, representatives of the diplomatic corps accredited in Bucharest, personalities of the scientific and cultural life, foreign guests.

President Iliescu made an address on the occasion, referring to the importance of the act of 75 years ago when the process of building the unitary Romanian national state was accomplished at Alba Iulia. The leaders and parliamentarians of the opposition political parties did not attend.

IMF Delegation Arrives To Discuss Memorandum

AU2911203293 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1836 GMT 29 Nov 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 9/11/1993—Maxwell Watson, regional director of the International Monetary Fund, chief IMF negotiator with Romania, arrived in Bucharest on November 9. He told the press on arrival that the mission pursued the establishment by the next week's end of the economic details to be included in the

memorandum with the IMF. He said the fund were aware of the fact that the program of restructuring and reforms the government was applying had a (?strong) social impact, especially at this time of the year. So, the mission as accompanied by a team of experts to deal with problems of social protection, who would analyze the possibilities of easing the social impact, so that the steps to be taken in the period ahead should be socially accepted.

Army Denies Supplying Weapons to Macedonia

AU2911163493 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1400 GMT 29 Nov 93

[Text] Romania has not supplied and does not supply any weapons to the Republic of Macedonia, reads a communique issued by the Romanian Army Press Bureau sent to ROMPRES for publication. Hence, information published by the Greek newspaper (?TORMIMA), to the effect that Romania is among the major supplies of weapons and ammunition for the Republic of Macedonia is false.

Information on Romania violating the embargo against countries of former Yugoslavia was also published by press agencies and publications, and denied by the Army Press Bureau at the appropriate time, the communique reads in conclusion.

Article Views 'Understanding' Among Parties

AU2911204193 Bucharest AZI in Romanian 26 Nov 93 p 4

[Statements by Adrian Severin, vice president of the Democratic Party (National Salvation Front), and Nicolae Manolescu, president of the Civic Alliance Party, on a "Political Understanding Among the Civic Alliance Party, the Democratic Party, and the National Liberal Party: The Word 'Alliance' Does Not Exist"]

[Text] "The joint declaration signed by the representatives of the Civic Alliance Party [PAC], the Democratic Party (National Salvation Front) [PD-FSN], and the National Liberal Party [PNL] is the result of a number of meetings that we held with the parties belonging to the Romanian political spectrum of the center. The basic idea is to come up with a positive alternative: To say what has to be done and not that others do poorly in what they should do," said Adrian Severin, vice president of the PD (FSN), at the end of the tripartite meeting. He also made the following specification: "The best solution is a coalition government, which does not have to consist solely of these three parties. There are other parties with which we have conducted talks and continue to do so (...) This project does not aim to exclude anyone. Our idea is not to destroy the already existing alliance (...) We want to dynamize the opposition from within (...) The political parties have to be at least as dynamic as trade unions (...) I do not see why some potential participants in a possible government should not conduct timely negotiations with representatives of civilian society (...) Discussions have to continue in this formula, or in larger formulas (...) In order that our ideas become completely operational, it is clear that we have to take tangible steps, which will be discussed at future meetings (...) So far, the PD (FSN) has not discussed variants of portfolios with the CDR in case of a possible participation in government (...) We are not establishing an electoral mechanism, we are making electoral offers (...) For the time being, we do not have any signals on the part of the ruling party; if they exist, they are not consistent enough to be noted."

PAC President Nicolae Manolescu said that the tripartite meeting, which took place on Wednesday, 24 November, at the PD(FSN) headquarters pursued a dual aim: "Political—to dynamize the opposition, and economic—to meet trade union claims, which prove that social tension has reached a very dangerous threshold." He also made the following specifications: "We have not met because we want to govern by all means. For the time being, we have issued a joint declaration. The word 'alliance' does not exist. PAC may possibly participate in the government, together with the formations that have signed the declaration and with the other opposition formations (...) Unfortunately, the dialogue with those in power has broken off. After Mr. Vacaroiu's [premier] statement at the news conference, I do not see what we could discuss (...) So far, we have not discussed any electoral issues. We are not talking of a unification of the liberal movement, because we have to do with a party that is not liberal. A social pact is absolutely necessary and we would like to be able to achieve it, but I do not know whether we will be able to do so, since we are talking of three formations." To the question whether the parties that have signed the declaration intend to achieve a closer dialogue with trade union leaders, the PAC president said: "It could be. We met several times last week, and we will meet with the National Trade Union Bloc [BNS]. Mr. Octavian Capatana, who accompanied Mr. Nicolae Manolescu to these discussions, also specified that "this initiative does not aim to split the CDR, but to dynamize the opposition, if possible."

Article Views Iliescu Ban on King Mihai

AU3011105393 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 26 Nov 93 p 3

[Article by Dan Preisz: "Who Advised the President To Object?"]

[Text] It seems that some of President Iliescu's closest aides—both those who belong to the leadership of the PDSR [Social Democracy Party of Romania] and to the leadership of certain secret services—have recently advised the president to accept the idea of granting a visa to His Majesty King Mihai. The latter was supposed to participate, as a Romanian citizen and as grandson of King Ferdinand the Unifier, in the 1 December National Day festivities to be held in Alba Iulia. It was suggested that, within this framework, an atmosphere of political

reconciliation between the leadership, its supporters, and the opposition would be necessary and welcome, as would even the idea of establishing a broader coalition government, capable of pulling the country out of the current crisis.

Nevertheless, as it later became clear, on Wednesday [24 November] night the president decided to refuse to meet with the representatives of the Democratic Convention of Romania and to reject the idea of His Majesty King Mihai's visit to Romania. The balance in the president's decision was most probably tilted by some the advice secretly given him by his "faithful people," among whom there are also generals accredited to the Cotroceni [the Presidency]. All this in spite of the assurance voiced by certain members in the leadership of the intelligence services that the situation would not get out of hand in Alba Iulia.

Although this issue is being used as political propaganda, the Cotroceni "assembly"—which included Iliescu, [Socialist Party of Labor President Ilie] Verdet, [Socialist Party of Labor Senator Adrian] Punescu, and [Greater Romania Party President Corneliu Tudor] Vadim—does not seem to be appreciated by all the president's aides, those who are more reasonable people. For example, some people believe that wherever the "hot-headed" Vadim Tudor makes an appearance, things can only get worse, not better....

[PDSR Executive President] Adrian Nastase's position was also surprising, considering that in closer circles he had demonstrated a view toward dialogue on the issue of the king's visit totally different from that expressed to the president.

Karadzic Warns of German, Turkish Threats

AU2911094093 Kragujevac POGLEDI in Serbo-Croatian 12 Nov 93 pp 17-19

[Interview with Radovan Karadzic, leader of the Bosnian Serbs, by Babken Simonjan; place and date not given: "The West Will Be Grateful to Us"]

[Text] [Simonjan] The war in Bosnia continues, not as fiercely as some time ago, but there is no end to the hostilities and hatred. Do you see an end to all this?

[Karadzic] There is no need to repeat that we have gone through horrible hours of disaster and suffering throughout our history. The five centuries of Turkish occupation took many Serbian lives—out of a large nation we were reduced to only 10 to 12 million. In the 20th century we have twice experienced genocide, in 1914 and in 1941. Before this war, the Serbian people recognized that the same political powers are now re-emerging on the scene; they are being additionally strengthened by Islamic fundamentalism, which fought on the side of the Austrian-Hungarian Monarchy in 1914 and 1941 [as published] and is now trying to create an Islamic state in the Balkans. This time, the Serbian people are prepared to prevent the third genocide this century. Therefore, from the Serbian point of view, the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina can be considered satisfactory. We have protected all our territories and our people living in those areas. We have taken many casualties, both civilians and soldiers, but far fewer that had been planned by our enemies. It can be stated that the Serbs have succeeded in defending themselves this time. God has helped us. He has turned toward us, just as we have turned toward him, after many years of errors.

Your question can, therefore, be answered very easily: If it were up to us, the war could already be over, but those whose plans to create an Islamic state of Bosnia have been thwarted because of the Serbian alertness and determination not to allow genocide this time do not want peace.

[Simonjan] The West does not want to recognize this reality.

[Karadzic] As has always been the case, the West is this time, too, egotistical and inconsistent. The West is very interested in the Balkans, because all the routes to the east lead through the Balkans. Western Europe destroyed Yugoslavia under pressure from the great unified Germany. England and France have now realized that Germany has become the dominant factor in European politics and that Islamic fundamentalism is trying to find its way into Europe. We defended Europe from Islam 600 years ago; in the battle of Kosovo Polje [1389] we sacrificed our state, which was glorious in the Middle Ages and one of the most developed countries. We are defending Europe again, from Germany and from Islamic fundamentalism. The world still will not recognize us and is punishing our homeland Serbia, even though it is not involved in this war; the only things we receive from it are medicine and food. The West will be grateful to us one day because we decided to defend Christian values and culture.

[Simonjan] You do not meet Alija Izetbegovic any more, but contacts between the warring factions have not been broken. Nikola Koljevic, the vice president of the republic of Srpska, very often meets with Islamic fundamentalists at Sarajevo airport. What is the topic of their negotiations? Are these negotiations not senseless, since the Islamic side is disloyal and treacherous?

[Karadzic] Before this war, I had contacts with Izetbegovic almost every day. Naturally, during these talks, both of us knew what the other thought, but we were very "fine" and polite.

Since the beginning of this war we have met only once. That was recently, at the Geneva peace conference. It is difficult to reach an agreement with Izetbegovic because he thinks that Bosnia should belong to him, although the majority of the population is Christian—Orthodox Serbs and Catholic Croats. Apart from that, Bosnia has always been a Serbian country that belonged to the Serbian kings, since the time of Kulin Ban and King Tvrtko. The present coat-of-arms, pilfered by the Muslims to prove to the West that they are not Islamic extremists, is actually the coat-of-arms of King Tvrtko. They claim that Tvrtko was a Bogumil, and not a Serb—as if religion could be identified with nationality!

With such a political attitude, no agreement is possible.

Therefore, it is easier to reach an agreement with the Bosnian Croats, who do not want a unitary Bosnia, either; they want to be annexed to Croatia, or at least to have their state within a Bosnian union. We agree with the Bosnian Croats in this respect. Of course, there is great disagreement between ourselves and the Croats about the Serbian Krajina. These are Serbian territories given by Josip Broz Tito to Croatia when Croatia was part of Yugoslavia. The Serbs did not contest this solution as long as Croatia was in Yugoslavia. But, as soon as Croatia became independent, which was its right to self-determination, the Serbs expressed their right to stay in Yugoslavia, since this right is equal to the right to dissociate oneself from it.

As far as the negotiations at Sarajevo airport are concerned, we negotiate there about prisoner exchanges between the two sides. Winter is coming, and there will not be enough food or heating materials, so it is better that each side cares for its own prisoners, and that there are as few people in prison as possible.

[Simonjan] The war was the only solution, but it is certainly not the best one. There must be an agreement some day. Is there a possibility for such an agreement?

[Karadzic] Yes, there is a possibility. The Muslims have realized that they cannot get more than they have. We do not challenge their right to a state of their own, but this

state cannot include Serbian territories, even though those territories in which they have the majority now used to be Serbian.

There is also a possibility to reach an agreement as far as the international community is concerned. The Geneva peace talks are a good way to put an end to the war. The international community does not, however, want this war to end. Germany wants to keep the Balkans in an unstable state in order to enable NATO and the Western countries to gain a more powerful position in the Balkans. The West is using this war, as well as the instability of Macedonia, to strengthen its military presence here. Their wish is to enhance the influence of the two large regional powers—Turkey and Germany—in the Balkans. That is what the West needs to put all the other peoples in Europe into a subordinate position, and that is why it has built a wall against the peoples of the former Soviet Union, especially the Orthodox peoples.

The Balkans have always been of interest to the West. The important events during the world wars occurred here, unfortunately. World War I started in Sarajevo.

[Simonjan] Although it seems that it is tolerant in religious terms, Turkey is becoming the center of a new jihad. It openly supports the Bosnian fundamentalists. Are the Serbs, in your opinion, aware of all these challenges, and what is the situation like in the Serbian army today?

[Karadzic] The Serbs were ruled by the Turks for a very long time, so we know what they want. They want to return to Europe as a great power, as an empire as influential as it used to be. Apart from the Serbs, directly endangered are the Bulgarians and the Greeks, who completely understand us. The Serbs will certainly not allow Turkey to return to Serbian territories. The Turkish intentions are wrong, because the history happens as a drama once, and is repeated as a farce the next time. In other words, Turkey's attempt to return to Europe as a great power is farcical, and the Serbian people will defend their territories. There is no doubt about that. Our people, and I really live together with our people in Bosnia, convince me that I am not wrong when I state something like this.

[Simonjan] I asked the question about Turkey on purpose because, as an Armenian, as a member of the nation upon whom Turkey committed genocide, I am very interested in this question. It is no secret that the Armenians follow the struggle of the Serbian people for freedom against the Turkish yoke with much sympathy. I would like to remind you of Nagorno Karabakh, where the Armenians started fighting against the Muslim enemy for their territories and for their right to a free life in February 1988. Would you draw a parallel between the Armenians and the Serbs?

[Karadzic] As soon as the crisis broke out in Nagorno Karabakh, we knew what the problem was. Spiritual unity with you was established immediately. The situation is almost identical. Large Serbian territories were given to Bosnia-Herzegovina, without asking the Serbs, without a democratic referendum, and then Bosnia-Herzegovina seceded from Yugoslavia, which was against the Constitution. The same thing happened in Nagorno Karabakh. We know that Islam works in the same way everywhere.

In 1984, I was on remand in custody, because the communists had accused me of misusing various funds. They knew that the accusations were unfounded and that they would have to release me; the problem was a completely different thing, though. They released me in the end, but I spent 11 months in prison. During this time I read a novel by Franz Werfel, "Forty Days of Musa Dagh." It is a book about the genocide that the Turks committed on Armenians. This was for me a great novel because I felt that the sufferings of the Serbian and the Armenian peoples were practically the same. We want to have the book reprinted in our country because it treats the destiny of the peoples ruled by a foreign power in a fascinating way.

Of course, Karabakh is a metaphor for us. We wish that all the Armenians become united because this is their legitimate right.

[Simonjan] It seems to me, however,that all Orthodox people are in the stocks, and not only the Serbs, the Russians, and the Armenians.

[Karadzic] Absolutely. The Orthodox peoples are not at all protected by the international community today. The Catholics have the Vatican, the Muslims have the Islamic Conference, but the Orthodox do not have any association and they should found a kind of association as soon as possible.

Look at Ethiopia, for example. It is an Orthodox country, but very little is known about it. The international community helped Eritrea to secede from Ethiopia only because Eritrea is a Muslim country. Ethiopia lost its access to the sea in this way; it was a crime committed on the Ethiopian people. The "sin" of these people consisted only in the fact that they are an Orthodox island in a Muslim "sea" surrounding it. For this reason it is necessary to establish a club of countries connected by the Orthodox—a Christian—religion.

[Simonjan] Let us return to the republic of Srpska. How are its borders being defended today? Do you have enough weapons?

[Karadzic] The Yugoslav People's Army had many arms dumps in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and we occupied some of them at the beginning of the war. Some of the weapons were seized by the Croats and the Muslims in the same way. We have enough classical weapons and can compete with the Croatian-Muslim coalition, which actually does not exist any longer. We succeeded because we did not try to occupy Muslim and Croatian territories, we only defended our homes. For this purpose we have had enough weapons so far.

[Simonjan] What is the situation like among the young Serbian population? Are they reporting for military service?

[Karadzic] The Serbs are on the whole in a special, very mobile and creative stage. All of us are ready to make sacrifices. Our entire population turned into an army as soon as things became dangerous. The young generation was leading in this respect. They are brilliant fighters. They join the army without any problems; first they have to undergo military training, and then they are sent to the front. They do not complain about going to any of our fronts. If you have seen our soldiers, you must have seen that they are very cheerful and confident.

[Simonjan] Can you say anything about relations with Yugoslavia?

[Karadzic] We receive great moral and financial support from Yugoslavia. First of all, I mean medicine and food. We produce a lot of food. This year we have produced 140,000 tonnes of corn more than we need, but we need approximately 50,000 tonnes of wheat, which we shall buy from Yugoslavia at very reasonable prices. Apart from this financial help, we are also happy that we have the moral support of the people in Yugoslavia, since they do not at all complain, although they are suffering from the effects of the sanctions; on the contrary, they support us in our struggle for justice.

[Simonjan] Do you have the support of the Serbs living abroad?

[Karadzic] We are supported absolutely by the Serbs living in the United States, Canada, Australia, and Europe. They support our struggle because they know that we have returned to traditional Serbian values, to the Serbian church and culture, and that we are developing a democratic and free society that will be based on private enterprise and on the ability of the Serbs to earn money. The Serbs are good hosts and a self-sacrificing people, and communism was a ideology completely alien to us.

Bolshevism did not come to Serbia from Moscow, but from Paris, Ljubljana, and Zagreb. Bolshevism was brought to Serbia by the Slovenes and the Croats, who relied on certain Serbian freaks. The Serbs have always been inclined toward social democracy, which, as is known, does not have any deep connection with Bolshevism.

[Simonjan] New elections in Yugoslavia are approaching. What do you expect from this election?

[Karadzic] I expect a further differentiation of the political forces and I believe that there will remain two or three larger and one smaller party in Serbia. This is probably natural. We have still not reached the stage of developed capitalism, in which certain social strata have their own parties; the Yugoslav people today are addressing those parties that have the best national program. As soon as the national question has been solved, two strong parties will emerge—a party of the center right, and a party of the center left, whereas the extreme left and right parties will get only 5 to 10 percent of the vote. There will probably be some other parties, a liberal party, for example, which will also receive no more than 5 to 10 percent of the vote.

[Simonjan] How do you see the future of all the Serbian countries?

[Karadzic] I believe that the Serbian wish to unite all the Serbs in one state is entirely legitimate. The Serbs achieved this in 1918 when they established Yugoslavia. Unfortunately, they "adopted" Slovenia and Croatia at that time, which had been on the side of the enemy during World War I. We rehabilitated them after the war, and they gave us the worst possible things in return.

Now, the international community does not want one powerful state in the Balkans, because such a state would conduct an independent policy. It wants to have small Balkan states with puppet governments. I am convinced, though, that the legitimate Serbian wish to be united will prevail. The international community was not afraid of a reunited Germany, so how is it possible that it is afraid of united Serbs? If the Serbs were united, we would be a large state with approximately 10 to 12 million Serbs. In relation to Germany we would still be a small state. Nobody can prevent this natural aspiration from happening.

I am not referring to the Serbs who live in Hungary or Romania, who, naturally, have to be protected as minorities there, but they have to live in these countries. We have a similar problem with the Kosovar Albanians. They are a national minority and they must have their minority rights, but they have to obey Serbian laws, since they live in Yugoslavia. This principle cannot, however, be applied to the Bosnian and Croatian Serbs, because they have hitherto lived in one state. It is impossible to be a national minority in one's own country.

Kosovo must remain in Serbia because this part of Serbia is the cradle of our state. Just because the Albanians settled in Kosovo during Tito's rule does not necessarily mean that Kosovo should secede from Yugoslavia. The Serbs will never allow it.

[Simonjan] Let us also mention your literary work. You are a distinguished Serbian poet, who was awarded the Risto Ratkovic Prize for your collection of poems entitled "Slovenski gost" ["Guest of the Slavs"].

[Karadzic] The only thing that I can tell you is that I am a poet by vocation. I published my first collection of poems in 1968. Apart from the last one, I received two literary awards before.

I was awarded the Ducic Prize for my first collection, but the communists immediately stripped me of it. Later on they abolished it. I was awarded a prize for a collection of children's poetry in 1983, and the Risto Ratkovic Prize in Bijelo Polje this year.

I was a physician, and I loved my profession and spent much time on being a good one. That is why I wrote fewer books than I might have (just five), but I do not regret it. Medicine and psychiatry gave me a lot of pleasure, too. My wife and I were successful physicians.

[Simonjan] I would like to tell you in the end that some of your poetry will soon be translated into Armenian, so that our readers may experience your talent.

[Karadzic] It would be a pleasure to see my poems in the Armenian language.

Croatian Member of Presidency Views Situation

AU3011114293 Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 16 November 93 p 18

[Interview with Ivo Komsic, Bosnia-Herzegovina Croatian Peasants Party president, by Zeljko Ivankovic; place and date not given: "The Muslim Republic Has No Future"]

[Text] The Sarajevo Croats pinned their hopes on Ivo Komsic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Croatian Peasants Party, becoming a member of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency. Since then, however, much has happened that has primarily harmed the Croats.

[Komsic] Unfortunately, I came to a very difficult position, for the conflict between the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and the HVO [Croatian Defense Council] was in the focus of the war. It is very hard to act efficiently in such situations. Even in the present situation, however, my task is to try to reduce those tensions, stop conflicts, and work on realizing the declaration of Tudjman and Izetbegovic.

[Ivankovic] What have you managed to accomplish so far, considering what happened in Vares in the meantime, that the Sarajevo HVO was placed under the command of the 1st Corps, that Vitez was attacked?

[Komsic] The events in Vares marked my entering the Presidency. I did not participate in making decisions about Vares and I do not know whether the Presidency brought such a decision at all. According to the information of my colleagues, there was no decision to send units to Vares, nor for the procedure toward the Sarajevo HVO. Having heard about the events in Vares, we demanded an urgent meeting with the president and with the commander of the Supreme Command Headquarters to get an explanation for the entire action, and we insisted that the army be stopped where they were at that moment. We do not know what happened exactly in Vares. At present, we know only what we hear from the Sarajevo media and from foreign agencies. The Presidency will have more discussions about Vares and about actions of some units, but we must have the complete information in order to do that. Regarding the HVO in Sarajevo, that action was performed without the knowledge of the Croatian personnel in the authorities on all levels. That does not mean, however, that we were against the transformation of the Sarajevo HVO; we do not approve the way in which it was done.

[Ivankovic] Do you feel betrayed, for, since you became a member of the Presidency, many things happened without your consent and at the expense of the Croats?

[Komsic] I do not feel betrayed, but I feel that we do not participate in the work of the Presidency as much as we should and that we do not have the influence we should have in that body. We must try to fight to get things under control and I hope we will succeed in that. If we do not manage to do that, then our presence in that body should be brought into question.

[Ivankovic] It seems that the international public is more and more inclined towards forming three ethnic republics in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Komsic] The problem does not lie in the fact that Bosnia will be organized on a tripartite basis, but how to organize it so that it is not at the expense of any nation. Rounding off nations on a particular territory should not be done so that the members of the majority nation suffer outside the so-called native republic. It is disastrous that a part of a nation will be a minority, that it will be assigned to two other ethnic states, naturally, if those other two states would have non-democratic regimes. If that does not happen, it is not so important for a nation where it lives; what is important, rather, is what kind of a state it will live in.

[Ivankovic] How realistic is such politics?

[Komsic] We are not in a position to say how realistic or unrealistic such politics is. What matters in politics are effects. It is true that the Muslims suffered most, but the Bosnia-Herzegovina Croats are the greatest political losers in this war.

[Ivankovic] It seems that something is changing in the politics of the Republic of Croatia toward Bosnia-Herzegovina. Do you think that too?

[Komsic] Yes, I also have the impression that something is changing for the better. I think that the Croatian policy was mislead by false information or by not knowing the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Ivankovic] Can we say that Muslim leaders also made political mistakes? People are wondering how come three corps were sent to Vares, while they do not even dream of sending troops to areas where the chetniks perpetrated ten times more cruel massacres against the Muslims.

[Komsic] To have the moral right to speak about the mistakes of other people, which are numerous as well, we must first of all talk about our own mistakes. I think that the Croatian policy on Bosnia-Herzegovina was misinterpreted from the beginning. The key to solving the Serb-Croat problem is the relation toward the Muslims, for the side that will politically win over the Muslims will achieve domination. I do not understand why the

Muslim leadership (I consider it separately from the Muslim people, who, I think, are still a friend of the Croats) has made such a disastrous assessment of both the beginning of the war and the way of defending themselves against the aggression. The Croats were then determined to defend Bosnia-Herzegovina. And we know they did. We know that the Muslims joined the HVO units, for they did not have their own army at that time. The separation happened after political goals were redefined, which is impermissible in the war and, in this case, disastrous for both nations.

[Ivankovic] Does Bosnia-Herzegovina have any chances?

[Komsic] We must be realistic. It is not possible to have Bosnia-Herzegovina as it was before. If we do not realize that, we cannot solve the crisis. Creating republics within Bosnia-Herzegovina does not necessarily have to be fatal for that country. It all depends on the quality of the union of the republics, on the form of their correlation. We are trying to preserve the territorial integrity of Bosnia-Herzegovina, i.e. we want Bosnia-Herzegovina to remain an internationally recognized country, and that the relations between the republics be defined with joint institutions which will be elected through free democratic elections.

[Ivankovic] What will happen to the central, Bosnian republic and how long will you and Kljuic be members of the Presidency? Will you be able to politically solve all problems, or are the two of you, together with Serbian representatives in the Presidency and in the government, just a temporary ornament?

[Komsic] The central republic will not exist on its own, regardless of the form of correlation with the other two. Their democracy must be mandatory; there will be reciprocity. The central republic will have more chances if it is heterogeneous. And that is why we are now trying to stop ethnic cleansing in that republic, we are against it belonging to the Muslims, for a Muslim republic does not have a future in the Balkans.

Durakovic: Presidency Must Act Collectively

AU3011104393 Ljubljana OSLOBODJENJE (European Edition) in Serbo-Croatian 19-26 November 93 p 9

[Interview with Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency member Nijaz Durakovic by Senka Kurtovic; place and date not given: "Maastricht Buried in a Bottle"]

[Text] "I recently visited Rasim Kadic. He told me a nice phrase. Rasim says that we, members of the Presidency, are now in a position to squeeze blood out of a stone. It is debatable whether one can get blood out of a stone and it is indeed a responsible and delicate task for all those who are trying to find solutions. It is not the least bit rewarding to be in the position to decide on crucial matters," said Nijaz Durakovic, member of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, in an interview for OSLOBODJENJE.

[Kurtovic] Tell us your views on the current situation in the country?

[Durakovic] It seems to me that the present situation is by far the worst since the beginning of the aggression on Bosnia-Herzegovina. Both regarding the delivery of basic food supplies to the population and great political uncertainty, and the increasingly complicated military situation. We are obviously at a kind of a stalemate at present. Unfortunately, the world is less and less interested in our situation. Their attention focuses on events in Russia. That is quite understandable, considering the fact that the United States has centered most of its activities on events in the former USSR. On the other hand, the latest Geneva package was not accepted, it proved to be unrealistic, and there are no new initiatives for the time being. There are some ideas about a Balkan, i.e. London conference, with the issue in doubt. Rumor has it that it will require careful preparation and planning, which does not really help Bosnia-Herzegovina and its suffering people. I think that the Bosnia-Herzegovina leadership must take on a delicate task. Winter has practically already begun; there are many serious problems and people fear mass starvation and freezing to death. We must provide for their primary needs—water, electricity, gas, medicine, food—and try to establish any kind of humanitarian convoy for other areas of Bosnia-Herzegovina. But it will not be easy to realize that. Complications with Croatia, i.e. with military activities lead by the militant wing of the Croatian Defense Council, along with the continuing chetnik attacks and the fact that the chetniks will not give up their conquests, definitely make the situation more difficult.

[Kurtovic] You recently said that it is almost impossible for an individual to do something on his own. What, then, can and must the Presidency do as a collective body?

[Durakovic] I think we must redefine the entire political strategy. That is our primary goal. We must come up with a kind of a platform and present it at the meeting of the Presidency. A political platform to finally make it clear to all of us what are our primary political goals, what is the strategy of our continuing fighting, what kind of destiny we want for Bosnia-Herzegovina, what is the framework for that. Some think it is all clear. I think there are several different approaches. Some still demand, want, and are trying to fight for Bosnia-Herzegovina as a sovereign, internationally recognized, democratic, and civic state, whose borders are the same as before the aggression. Others say that the upper limit of demands is, provisionally speaking, that which was offered at the last Geneva conference (union of republics along with redefining some controversial issues). The third group think that it is high time we were divided into three ministates, with the third one as the so-called Bosnian republic, which some probably see as the Muslim republic. The fourth group still think that it is possible to offer a better solution concerning the country's federate organization and maximum decentralization and organizing Bosnia-Herzegovina as a union of

10, 13, or 18 provinces, each of which would have a very wide scope of authority prerogatives, but which would maintain the basic characteristics of federal states, and that would be used as a foundation for a kind of gradual reintegration of Bosnia-Herzegovina. There are quite a few options.

[Kurtovic] Which do you think is the most realistic option?

[Durakovic] I do not usually like to talk about that much-vaunted reality, which has been imposed on us for quite a long time. Owen, Stoltenberg, Butrus Ghali, Clinton, France, and the United States are trying to convince us—"it is realistic, you know, give up your utopian programs and the so-called unrealistic ambition." But we tend to forget what lead to that reality. We have gradually forgotten who the real aggressor is, how the aggression began, and that this "reality" was established through genocide, terrible destruction, killing. Therefore, it was established first of all by force and past all resolutions, all decisions, whether they were made on the level of the UN Security Council, or at the London Conference. The reality is that Bosnia-Herzegovina, as a sovereign, independent, and free country was recognized by more than 150 countries. Furthermore, the reality is that there is very little left of that country, for it is occupied, exposed to aggression. And if we start separating reality from what is unrealistic, then we must bear in mind that fundamental principles of the international community were violated in the case of Bosnia-Herzegovina, that they also went against the United Nations Charter, that Bosnia-Herzegovina was denied the right to defend itself, which is one of the main principles of the Charter, that Bosnia-Herzegovina was practically sacrificed and abandoned because of interests of European and international potentates.

I said before that practically the entire Maastricht was buried in Bosnia, along with all principles so ardently professed by Europe, and that humanity will have Bosnia on its conscience. It is the best example of hypocrisy, unscrupulousness, conformism, and dehumanization of both Europe and the world. And while we are on the subject of what is realistic, we must try to consider all that and fight for justice regardless of how much we are able to do justice. I am one of those who advocates integral Bosnia-Herzegovina, sovereign, democratically organized country which will function on the principles of civic society—a parliamentary republic, naturally, even a maximally decentralized one, provided that it will be organized on principles to which we aspire and which were, after all, granted by our Constitution. How successful we will be, is another matter, but I think that our relinquishing those goals lead to this situation. We were too fast in making concessions, we became reconciled to the fact that our country has gone too soon, although our flag is still waving on the East River in front of the UN building. We have to start from what the world has already recognized, and not give up and become reconciled with the destruction of our country. When can we realize our goals? It may take a long time, but if the circumstances are right, it could be much sooner than we anticipate.

[Kurtovic] How can appointing Komsic, Kljujic, and yourself to the Presidency influence the realization of domestic and foreign political goals?

[Durakovic] At this point, I cannot say how much the three of us will contribute to that. But those are people of different theoretical, ideological, and political orientations. I believe that we will fight together to preserve its multinational and civic character. Time will show the extent of our individual contributions. Whether all three of us will work on the same platform, that depends on what I already mentioned—on whether the Presidency will put on the agenda its political strategy and the question of its new political platform, which, I think, is necessary at present. I still think that one man alone cannot do much. However, if we, as the highest political body, are not unanimous concerning important, strategic questions, then we can hardly expect significant results. I hope that, starting with Izetbegovic, we will nevertheless agree on the most important questions. The rest is a matter of some political realization.

[Kurtovic] There is more and more talk in the world that it is not unrealistic to consider the renaissance of communism in countries of Eastern Europe. What is your opinion about that?

[Durakovic] The renaissance of the old communism is not possible. People forget that we (the Party of Democratic Changes) were transformed long ago, first into a socialist democratic party, and then, during the war, into a social-democratic party. This is a modern party of European orientation that got rid of communist and Bolshevik impedimenta, all important principles that characterized every communist party—principles of democratic centralism, strict discipline, ostracizing religious people.... This party does not have much in common with what is so easily referred to as communist. We believe in the future of such parties.

[Kurtovic] You recently mentioned stormy revival of party passions?

[Durakovic] The war is raging and circumstances are not favorable for party activities. Parties primarily aim to make people interested in the next elections, and it is not realistic to expect to have elections in the near future, due to the war. Weapons are talking now, not words or ideas. The fact is that those passions exist in what is left of those destroyed authorities; certain parties, primarily the Party of Democratic Action want to establish a kind of exclusive monopoly. That triggers a reaction, for we think this is neither correct, legal, nor legitimate. They did win the elections, but not to the extent to place the entire power and the entire political life into their hands. We must, therefore, provide both the place and room for the activities of the so-called small parties.

[Kurtovic] Is that possible?

[Durakovic] Absolutely yes. If I were in Mr. Silajdzic's shoes, I would appoint people from those parties as ministers. Objectively, they do not have many members or followers, but, exactly in the name of democracy and tolerance, in the name of pluralism, we should hear out all those who support the liberation war to save Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Kurtovic] Winter is ahead, and the aggression continues. What shall we do next and how to go about it?

[Durakovic] I am not in a position to deal with those operative questions, although they are vital and crucial. I think that new members of the government have the biggest responsibility. We believe that something concrete will be done very soon. It would be much if we could only provide gas, more food, gasoline... people would somehow survive. People can endure much more than we think. We who live in Sarajevo have, during the past 19 months, been particularly well-trained to endure everything. Provided they have the basic necessities, they will survive and make it until the spring. The aggressor also feels the winter. We should not pity them for their problems, but we believe that many people on their side are already fed up with war. Their problems will be intensified in the coming period; I think that spring will bring a real disaster to them. The situation in Croatia is also headed toward that. If we could, and we must, make it till springtime, I believe that time would be on our side.

Croat Bihac Commander on Military Situation

AU2911183793 Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 23 Nov 93 pp 6-7

[Interview with General Vlado Santic, commander of the Croatian Defense Council for the Bihac region, by Ivan Sabic; date and place not given: "The Jihad Would Go All the Way to Neum!"]

[Text] General Vlado Santic, commander of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] for the Bihac region, did not answer the military calling of his own accord. No, this decision was forced on him by the times in which he is living and the troubles which these times have brought to the Croatian people in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Before the war, he held the posts of vice president of the Croatian Democratic Community [HDZ] in Bosnia-Herzegovina and vice president of the Croatian community of Herceg-Bosna. He was also in the three-member delegation at the talks on what was then called the future constitutional structure of Bosnia-Herzegovina which took place under the auspices of the European Community. As vice president of the Croatian community of Herceg-Bosna he spent the first months of the war in Herzegovina. He arrived in Bihac on foot with some 30 of his men via the occupied territory of the Republic of Croatia.

[Sabic] General, when you compare the political circumstances in which Jose Cutilheiro [former Portuguese foreign minister] was trying to coordinate the stands of the three national parties with the present political circumstances, do you come to any conclusion? Are we now closer to a solution to the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina?

[Santic] As regards the subject which has been discussed at these negotiations on resolving the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina, no essential changes have taken place in the last one and one half years. There was once talk about cantonization and now there is talk about member republics of some future union. Therefore only the terms that are being bandied about have changed, but essentially everything has remained the same. However, we are now far away from a solution which would mean the permanent establishment of peace, perhaps even further away than at the time when the negotiations on a new structure began, for the simple reason that the situation on the ground has become more complicated. At the first stage of the negotiations the war was being waged only between the Croats and Serbs, while the Muslims stood to one side. They always expected something from outside, while now, because of the Muslim aggression on Croatian territory in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the situation is quite different.

Alija Writes and Erases

[Sabic] Were you surprised by such a development of the situation, considering that at one point no one questioned the existence of the Croatian-Muslim alliance in Bosnia-Herzegovina, that is to say the anti-Serbian coalition, as Radovan Karadzic [leader of the Bosnian Serbs] liked to call it?

[Santic] It is obvious that the Muslim leadership is going for the option of bringing about some kind of support from the international community by causing great numbers of casualties, which cannot surprise anyone who knows the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina. After the war started, which caught the Muslims unawares, they could not do even anything else. The surprise is perhaps that Izetbegovic went against the Croats with such vociferousness and that his army left some lines open toward the Serbs in order to settle accounts with the Croats.

[Sabic] There is still a dilemma in Croatia over whether there should be a Croatian-Muslim conflict. How would you respond to that?

[Santic] Only a politically blind person could not see that Izetbegovic's insistence on a civil state is concealing a plan to create an Islamic state on the whole territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Such an endeavor cannot produce anything but what we have now, because a state cannot survive which would ignore the existence of the Serbian and the Croatian peoples. The struggle to take as much territory as possible is a quite logical consequence and in the minds of some people there is still the idea about linking the Muslim territory in Bosnia-Herzegovina with Turkey through the Sandzak, Kosovo, and Macedonia.

[Sabic] How can events be expected to develop in the region where battles are being fought between the Croats and the Muslims?

[Santic] Considering that we are at the beginning of winter and it could be said that it will be harsh this year, it can be expected that the Muslims will transfer more significant forces to the south after they have captured Vares and thus secured the communication lines between all the parts of Bosnia-Herzegovina that their units control. Fiercer attacks on Mostar can be expected, as well as an attempt to penetrate to the sea.

[Sabic] Frequent diplomatic activities are aimed at overcoming the Croatian-Muslim conflict. What chances do you give them?

[Santic] It has been demonstrated throughout this war that Izetbegovic finds it easy to sign various documents except when these would mean a complete end to the war under international supervision, but he also finds it easy to withdraw his signature. As soon as he turns his back, he says that he did not sign anything. Therefore I maintain that all these attempts are actually a waste of time.

Prepared for War and Peace

[Sabic] What remains then? A war of attrition?

[Santic] The HVO must be where the Croatian people are. We do not need one inch of someone else's land but we must defend what is ours and make use of the circumstance that the Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina are also deciding in favor of the establishment of peace. If it is shown that two sides in Bosnia-Herzegovina really do want to attain peace and the third does not, then this must be openly said. Of course, nothing is so simple in Bosnia-Herzegovina. It is well known that the Muslims are negotiating with the Serbs, that they are agreed on establishing a corridor between Bar and Sarajevo, so that the Croats must be very cautious and always equally prepared for war and peace.

[Sabic] How have all these conflicts in Herzegovina and central Bosnia affected relations between the HVO and the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina in the Bihac region? Have there been the kind of conflicts between Croats and Muslims that Serbian television stations used to claim?

[Santic] Everything that has been happening there in some way culminates over our backs. We have demonstrated our abilities primarily on the battlefield. The zone of responsibility of the HVO of the Bihac region is 50 kilometers long but in the struggle against the Serbian Army only our units have moved the line of defense, and that was by 10 kilometers. In the political context we have managed to judge matters so that we have not fallen into the traps that have been laid for us on several occasions, in order to anticipate finally the time when the 5th Corps is occupied with fighting against the forces of Fikret Abdic [president of the autonomous province of western Bosnia].

[Sabic] Has there nevertheless been the kind of conflicts that the Serbian television stations had once been claiming?

[Santic] The mujaheddin "Alahu-akhbar" brigade from Buzim has made some very serious preparations for an attack on the village of Vedro Polje and for taking very important strategic peaks in this area. I have set up a defense and prepared the units for fighting. We decided on a fight regardless of the fact that there are only 7,000 Croats in Bihac, which is around 3 percent of the total population of the Bihac region. We would rather die honorably than surrender to the mujaheddin, but there has not been a direct clash.

Corridors Are Not for the Croats!

[Sabic] After the proclamation of the autonomous province of western Bosnia and the start of conflicts between the parts of the 5th Corps loyal to Alija Izetbegovic and Fikret Abdic's forces, the HVO has found itself in a quite different situation. How have you coped?

[Santic] In the military sense this has not affected us at all—we have not yet taken part in that conflict, nor would we want to. Although many people think that the HVO will actually tip the scales, which could then mean that we will also tip the scales in favor of peace in the autonomous province of western Bosnia, we will join in only at the moment when someone attacks us, regardless of who we then acquire as an opponent. The HVO Bihac region is part of the Autonomous Province of Western Bosnia but we are also part of the HVO of the Croatian Community of Herzeg-Bosnia whose basic purpose is to protect the Croatian people in Bosnia-Herzegovina. In that sense we are lucky that the Croatian villages around Bihac are linked to each other, so that our defense zone has been a complete area from the very beginning. I had even signed a document with Ramiz Drekovic in which we agreed on sharing the zone of responsibility.

[Sabic] How do you foresee the further development of the situation in the Autonomous Province of Western Bosnia? Will one of the sides in the conflict be the final victor?

[Santic] The basic thing is that there is no longer any going back. Enough blood has been spilled and enough lines have been weakened toward the Serbs, which gives the conflict a new dimension. I therefore think that it would be frivolous now to make any long- term predictions.

[Sabic] So in the military sense nothing has changed since the establishment of the Autonomous Province of Western Bosnia? Does that mean that there has been no change or does life in Western Bosnia not consist only of fighting?

[Santic] Of course this is not the only change. Some things have changed for the better while some have changed for the worse. The drastically reduced inflow of all goods is a change that has hit the Croatian population

the most. That is to say, the convoys which are always going to Western Bosnia and which are very often talked about can freely be called Muslim convoys. This is because, since the fighting between forces of the autonomous province of western Bosnia and units loyal to Izetbegovic began, nothing of what is being transported by the convoys has gone to the Croatian people, so that we await the winter that has already begun in a very serious situation. Croats cannot even use the transport corridor that has also been established, so it is logical to ask for whom we should be fighting. We are staying where we are and we will fight only if we are attacked!

[Sabic] Perhaps the question of supplies would be resolved if the zone of responsibility of the HVO bordered on the area which is controlled by forces of the autonomous province of western Bosnia?

[Santic] We must take account that the people who are in the HVO must feed their families and we must allow them to do this somehow. There is a way to open the corridor for Croats too. There are firms in Zagreb which before the fighting in western Bosnia worked to supply the areas under the control of the HVO but they can no longer get through with their goods.

[Box, p 6]

Drekovic

A large number of Muslim officers of the 5th Corps were in favor of attacking the HVO, but they were stopped by Ramiz Drekovic, this corps's former commander. The two of us talked all through the night about all our problems, especially about the relationship between the HVO and the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina and about a way to avoid fighting. Even though on three occasions he received orders from Sarajevo to attack the HVO, Ramiz Drekovic never did that. Many stories have been tangled up in his replacement. I cannot say that I know the real reason but it is very probable that his replacement was partly a result of this kind of attitude to the HVO.

Military Adviser Rejects Idea of Demilitarization

AU2911163293 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 29 Nov 93

[Commentary by General Muharem Fetahagic, adviser in the Bosnia-Herzegovina Defense Ministry and secretary of the Military Council of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency]

[Text] The entire international community has flinched in front of the policy of force, first the Serbian one and then the Croatian one. Actually, it has not signed a formal agreement on yielding parts of the sovereign state of Bosnia-Herzegovina to the aggressors, but the things done behind closed doors seem to be leading that way. What would have become of us had we not had such a respectable force as is the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army? That is why one has to analyze in detail what and who is behind this idea of the demilitarization of Bosnia-Herzegovina, while Serbia and Croatia are to remain armed and militarily organized as they are now, and even to continue arming themselves, while an arms embargo is in force for us.

Not even in Switzerland, which has been neutral for some 180 years, and had its last civil war some 150 years ago, did the attempt at demilitarization go ahead. So how could it here, when we had a war 50 years ago, and are having one now with even more aggressors? It sounds a lovely and appealing thought that a nation without enemies does not need an army. Of course it is, were it true and realistic. Unfortunately it is not. It is unnecessary to prove how unfounded this is. Seen from the point of view of national sovereignty, demilitarization can only be understood as the limitation of that sovereignty on something as important as the right to organizing self-defense. The limitation of sovereignty when it comes to defense must be done with maximum caution, even when it is dictated from outside. It is understandable when this limitation is imposed as punishment by the stronger, but the intention to have this kind of limitation taken as a voluntary act is not understandable at all. It would be incomprehensible if—in the existing constellation of military and political circumstances—a country were to give up its right to self-defense voluntarily, including objectively, its right to independence.

Therefore, at first sight it might appear—particularly from the point of view of liberating significant parts of the national budget that is annually [word indistinct] for the financing of the armed forces—that demilitarization would lead to (?prosperity). Instead of unproductive defense, the same resources could be directed at the economy, where they would bring considerable profit. However, one forgets the danger here that a nation that will not finance its own army could easily end up financing somebody else's.

Demilitarization is, therefore, only wishful thinking and is to be seen as such, as wishes are one thing and realities of life are something else. Policy from the position of force is still the reality of our world. The Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina could be the first country that would be demilitarized, but the price it would pay for this would be high—its independence.

Poison Gas Reportedly Used in Muslim Attack

LD3011082193 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 30 Nov 93

[Text] The Muslim army attacked the central-Bosnian Croat villages of Pazaric, Fojnica, and Lijesnica early this morning. The Muslims are using shells filled with poisoned gas from Tuzla.

The hospital in Zepce reported this morning that hepatitis was spreading in the area.

Muslims Step up Attacks on Zepce Front

LD2911183293 Mostar Croatian Radio Herzeg-Bosna in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 29 Nov 93

[Excerpt] Heavy fighting is in progress on the Zepce front. The [Croatian] defenders are effectively repelling all Muslim assaults and inflicting tremendous losses on the enemy. Three of our defenders have lost their lives. Fierce clashes continue on the Zepce front this afternoon.

[Reporter] As if guided by some unwritten rule, the Muslim army is intensifying its attacks on the free Croatian territories of Zepce, Zavidovici, and Maglaj just as the Geneva talks are gaining momentum. This was exactly the case today—the enemy has been shelling the defense lines since early this morning, and the most difficult situation has been reported on the southern Zepce and Maglaj fronts. More than 100 highly destructive missiles have landed so far, several of them near the church in Brankovici.

The defenders are repelling the attacks and there is no fear that the Muslim forces might possibly penetrate the defense lines in the free territories. [passage omitted]

UNPROFOR: Serbs Using Cluster Bombs in Attacks

AU2911144393 Paris AFP in English 1338 GMT 29 Nov 93

[By Pierre Lhuillery]

[Text] Sarajevo, Nov 29 (AFP)—Bosnian Serbs launched heavy attacks in several areas in the war-torn region over the weekend using new weapons, including cluster bombs, UN officials said Monday [29 November]. UN Protection Force spokesman Lieutenant Colonel Bill Aikman said increased military activites in the area had made him pessimistic about the future success of humanitarian aid convoys. The renewed attacks came as leaders of the three warring parties gathered Monday in Geneva in a bid by international peace mediators Lord Owen and Thorvald Stoltenberg to relaunch the stalled peace talks.

Fighting was particularly intense around the area of Tuzla, in northeastern Bosnia-Hercegovina, where four cluster bombs fired from M-87 launchers fell during the weekend, Aikman said. Cluster bombs explode in the air just at the end of their flight path releasing smaller bombs which scatter before impact, he said.

Tuzla, a Moslem enclave, which is a UN-designated safe area, also came under fire from heavy artillery leaving "a significant number dead," Aikman said. Some 34 shells fell on the town and the neighbouring area of Sapna.

Sarajevo also came under heavy fire as 116 shells rained on the Bosnian capital Sunday, including the centre of the city. Five people were killed and seven injured in one shell attack, officials at the main Sarajevo hospital said.

The old city, in the east of Sarajevo, was subjected to anti-aircraft fire, machine-gun rounds and fire from semi-heavy weapons Sunday evening, which was reported to be coming from the Bosnian Serb held area of Trebevic.

The renewed fighting was a bleak prelude to the Geneva talks in the presence of 12 EC foreign ministers, and also cast doubt on the success of aid convoys trying to reach the stricken population in central Bosnia.

The U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) has said that the situation was very worrying, despite being able to deliver some 2,300 tonnes of aid in the past week. UNHCR spokesman Ray Wilkinson said here Monday that some 23 convoys had managed to get through, even though an agreement guaranteeing safe passage for the convoys signed in Gevena on November 18 had been widely broken. He said "time-consuming bureaucratic procedures" and "harassment by armed groups at the checkpoints" had meant the UNHCR had not managed to achieve all it had set out to do.

Meanwhile in Zagreb UNHCR spokesman Peter Kessler said Monday that four Bosnian UNHCR drivers seized and imprisoned in Velika Kladusa by forces loyal to rebel strongman Fikret Abdic were released over the weekend. The four had been seized at a checkpoint, in northwest Bosnia, as they were trying to travel to Bihac, and sentenced to 30 days in prison, although Kessler said the charges against them were never made clear.

And it was announced in The Hague that the Dutch Development Cooperation Minister Jan Pronk is to visit Bosnia on December 5 and 9 to investigate the needs of aid organisations, a ministry statement said.

Tuzla Serbs 'Facing Death From Starvation'

LD2911203893 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1941 GMT 29 Nov 93

[Text] Zvornik, November 29 (TANJUG)—In addition to constant pogroms and persecution, Serbs in the Moslem enclave of Tuzla and its vicinity on northern Bosnia-Herzegovina, are also facing death from starvation, Bosnian Serb military sources told TANJUG on Monday [29 November].

The military sources learned from a group of Serbs who had managed to leave Tuzla and reach Serb territory through mine fields that the Serb population get hardly any of the humanitarian aid that reaches Tuzla and its vicinity.

Serbs can get food only from war profiteers who openly sell the humanitarian aid at exorbitant prices and only for hard currency.

Moslem troops take around 80 percent of the humanitarian aid intended for Tuzla, the Serb refugees said.

Representatives of some international and local humanitarian organizations are also involved in the sales of these goods, the Serb military sources said.

Moslem authorities have for a long time been discriminating against Serbs in the distribution of international aid, although humanitarian convoys reach Tuzla only through the territory of the Serb republic, the Serb state in former Bosnia-Herzegovina.

According to official figures, there are still around 16,000 Serbs in Tuzla, whom the Moslem authorities are holding hostage. Permission has been asked through official channels for all these Serbs to cross over into Serb territory, but the Moslem authorities persist in refusing to grant it.

Commentary Considers Franco-German Initiative

AU3011105193 Ljubljana OSLOBODJENJE (European Edition) in Serbo-Croatian 19-26 November 93 p 2

[Commentary by Mirko Sagolj: "3 Percent"]

[Text] In Bosnia, many merchants, each with his own specific intentions and tasks, are trying to sell the destiny of that country, and the war rages on. One of the cochairmen of the peace conference on former Yugoslavia, Thorvald Stoltenberg, was the first—in the latest diplomatic offensive on Sarajevo, other towns of former Yugo-republics, and on the village of Pale—to have heard out the main protagonists. His example was followed by the foreign ministers of Croatia, Turkey, and Greece, as well as by the special envoy of the Russian president, Vitaly Tchurkin. No one in the world knows yet what exactly has each of them brought along and what they took home in their diplomatic bags, for it seems that, at this stage, everyone is trying to use the certain calm on the battlefield and the standstill in peace negotiations to their own advantage. We could, therefore, suppose that both these negotiations and talks are burdened by traps and secrets and that they will only be decoded in the next stage.

It appears, however, that no one is too optimistic that the Geneva talks will soon resume, nor that they hope that the peace agreement will be reached in the near future. All talks focus—or promote—the so-called humanitarian issue, as though the cessation of hostilities is not a first-class humanitarian question. Everybody is saying that it is necessary to ensure the delivery of humanitarian relief through corridors on several sides, so that people who were driven to large concentration camps like Sarajevo, Mostar, Gorazde, and numerous small towns, could survive this winter. Delivering humanitarian relief, even on a regular basis, is just first aid to the heavily-wounded, and is far from being a solution for the difficult situation in which Bosnia-Herzegovina is suffering from brutal aggression from the east, helped by the West. We must seek a way out of this war and a solution that could satisfy, or force, all participants in this conflict to make peace. The alternative to that is a long-lasting war.

At the time of lacking ideas as to what to do next and how to resume peace talks, the Franco-German initiative appeared and seemed to have become the center of diplomatic action. According to that initiative, the European Community would be willing to alleviate sanctions imposed on the unrecognized FRY, provided that "the Bosnian Serbs relinquish approximately 3 percent of their territory to the Muslims," and that a peace agreement be signed on that basis. The initiative does not say, however, whether the Germans and the French have any idea how the Croats and the Muslims would, in that case, manage to agree on the demarcation and division of territory.

The idea has provoked different reactions—from total silence to rejection—and it is evidently being discussed at the moment.

Regarding reactions on the international political and diplomatic scene, we know that its two important protagonists—the United States and Britain—are not very likely to accept it at the moment. The British, old bastards, have come up with a wise explanation that the sanctions were imposed by the United Nations and that they cannot be lifted by anyone else. The United States, however, thinks that relinquishing 3 percent of the territory is not reason enough to lift the sanctions. Although they are not inclined toward dividing Bosnia-Herzegovina on national lines, rigorous measures proposed by the United States probably did not only aim to force Serbia and Montenegro to stop their aggression against Bosnia- Herzegovina, but also to break the dictatorial and fascist regime of Slobodan Milosevic and to help initiate democratic processes in both Serbia and Montenegro. Sanctions shook both regimes; the economic situation is disastrous, while the political situation is getting worse by the minute. Perhaps the United States wants to keep the blockade for a while in order to achieve both of their goals.

Still, the fate of the Franco-German initiative will primarily depend on the views of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and then also on the views of Serbia and Croatia. As far as the Serbs are concerned, they livened up as soon as they heard of the possibility of alleviating sanctions, because they are in deep trouble, but thinking about relinquishing territory brings lumps to their throats. But it seems that, pressured by Milosevic, they could nevertheless agree to that. The Croats are silent, because nobody asked them anything.

The problem lies in the fact that that 3 percent will not solve the problem, and it is questionable whether the Bosnia-Herzegovina leadership could agree to the latest trading proposal, even if the Serbs do accept. For, the Bosnia- Herzegovina leadership cannot accept any peace solution that will not fully guarantee its implementation, and it must at least contain the possibility of preserving the Bosnia-Herzegovina state community within its present borders, regardless of its inner structure, and it must also guarantee to return refugees to their homes. Without that, it is impossible to stop the war, and it must

last until at least that is achieved. Therefore, we must secure and preserve as much of Bosnia-Herzegovina to ensure that, one day, when the war is over, it can return to its historical borders. This could also be achieved without continuing the war.

Velika Kladusa Cuts Off Communications

AU3011122293 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 30 Nov 93

[Report by Mirza Sadikovic from Bihac]

[Text] The latest news from Velika Kladusa is that they have simply cut off all the PTT [postal, telegraph, and telephone] communications of this commune with the others in the region. That is what we have been told in the PTT Communications company in Bihac. The network has deliberately been disconnected in Velika Kladusa, which says enough for itself.

Many other bits of information indicate that certain plutocrats from Velika Kladusa have been trying to disconnect the (?media) from Cazin and Bihac in Zagreb in order to prevent the penetration of (?the truth) about everything that has been happening in this region recently. The behavior of the relevant factors from the international institutions that are currently in the region is cause for some concern, as communications with them are also interrupted, but they have not yet reacted.

We are taking this opportunity to send this report in order to stress—for the sake of correctly informing the public—that relations between the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army 5th Corps and the HVO Headquarters—that is, the Muslim and Croatian people—are excellent in this region, and all insinuations regarding those relations are nothing but fabrications and falsehoods.

HVO Soldiers Banned From Carrying Arms

LD2911155193 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 29 Nov 93

[Text] Commander of the Croat Defense Council [HVO] main headquarters Colonel General Ante Roso has ordered a ban on the carrying of weapons beyond a front line. All HVO soldiers are strictly banned from not only carrying long-barrel arms, artillery pieces and equipment, but also wearing military uniforms except when they are on a front line or on their way to or from it. Any violation of this order will be sanctioned under the law on defense. The order takes immediate effect.

Tudjman: 'Hard To Feel Optimistic' About Talks

LD2911125893 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 29 Nov 93

[Text] Croatian President Franjo Tudjman said today as he was leaving for the Geneva negotiations that it was hard to feel optimistic in light of what Muslim and Serbian representatives were saying. He, however, adds that the international community will probably force them at least into taking some steps.

Krajina Leader Expects 'Clear Statement'

LD2911163993 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1515 GMT 29 Nov 93

[Text] Jagodina [formerly Svetozarevo], 29 Nov (TANJUG)—Goran Hadzic, president of the republic of Serb Krajina, said today that he expects "a clear statement to be made in Geneva that the Serbian people are not to blame for the events in former Yugoslavia and a conclusion to be reached in this connection about the gradual lifting of sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia."

"Yugoslavia cannot be punished because Serb people are fighting for freedom in Krajina and the Serb Republic. According to the same logic, sanctions should also be imposed against Turkey because Muslims are fighting in Bosnia," Hadzic told Jagodina Radio.

Asked to comment on a proposal by the international community on a feasible arrangement between Serbs and Croats, Hadzic replied that this involved demands envisaging the loss of statehood of the republic of Serb Krajina and that they were unacceptable because they were "contrary to the will of the people expressed at three referendums in our state."

"This is also clear to the two gentlemen Owen and Stoltenberg, and all relevant international factors will have to take this fact into consideration," Hadzic said, adding that the republic of Serb Krajina was ready to negotiate peace on an equal basis, and it has proved that by signing local peace agreements for certain areas recently.

Granic Summarizes Position in Future Peace Talks

AU2911091093 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 25 Nov 93 p 3

[Report by Z. Duka, D. Ivankovic, D. Knezevic, M. Saric, D. Ujevic: "Croatia Is Asking for the Protection of Borders"]

[Text] The session of the Chamber of the Counties of the Croatian Parliament started on Wednesday [25 November] with the statement on foreign policy by Mate Granic, vice-chairman of the government,

Granic said that President Tudjman's peace initiative was made public at the moment when there was a complete hold-up in the peace talks. "As far as the Republic of Croatia is concerned," he added, "Tudjman's proposal is based on the Croatian law on ethnic minorities and on Security Council Resolution No. 871. In point 7 of his initiative, President Tudjman proved to be very flexible, without having affected the territorial integrity and the sovereignty of Croatia.

"The most important aim of the European Union is to solve the humanitarian situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina, so that there is additional pressure on Serbs now to cede 3.7 percent of the occupied territory to the Muslims. It is mentioned that a 'modus vivendi' for Croatia is to reach a cease-fire, establish the main communications and carry out Resolution No. 871," Granic pointed out.

Mr. Granic also said that the sanctions against Serbia would not be lifted, but he mentioned the possibility of their temporary suspension, which would, according to what he said, depend on the behavior of the Serbian side toward Bosnia-Herzegovina and the UN Protected Areas in Croatia.

Protection of Croatian Interests

The London conference will not take place as long as Resolution No. 871 has not been carried out. In connection with the preparation of the platform for the peace talks in Geneva next Monday, Mr. Granic said that Croatia would require numerous further guarantees, first of all that Croatian territorial integrity be respected—by recognizing Croatia within the Croatian borders. Apart from that, Croatia would require the protection of its borders, clear attitudes regarding the control of heavy weapons, and the return of Croatian refugees to their homes, which is an important part of the Vance plan. Granic pointed out that Croatia supported the European peace initiative, but that it would firmly defend its main interests.

Granic continued by stating that in the talks with Silajdzic the Croatian side proposed that the commanders in chief of both the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Croatian Defense Council sign a cease-fire agreement, which would include an end to hostilities and the dissolution of all prisons, since this would create conditions for a political solution. Granic said that the Muslim side was split in two parts, one of which supports the war option, adding that a war could only be a war against the Croats, since the Muslims did not have the power to attack the Serbs.

After Granic's statement, members of parliament asked questions. Mate Mestrovic (Croatian Social Liberal Party) asked what Croatia was doing regarding the war crimes committed by the Croatian side in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Zeljko Stanfela was interested whether some other territorial concessions, apart from those to the Muslims, had been planned. Julije Derossi (Croatian Democratic Community) wanted Granic to explain what concessions would be required from Croatia toward the Croatian Serbs. Djuro Panjan asked what was the difference between the terms "modus vivendi" and "interim

solution." Marko Ivanovic (Croatian Social Liberal Party) proposed that the Chamber of Counties condemn the destruction of the old bridge in Mostar. He also wanted to know what was the attitude of the government regarding this issue. Damir Zoric (Croatian Social Liberal Party) recalled [Austrian Foreign Minister] Mock's initiative to place the refugee camps in Croatia under the full control of European states.

Concessions Only by the Serbs

In response to questions, Granic said that the person in charge of relations with the UN Protection Forces was replaced because a new institution was established—The Committee for the UN Protection Force—whose members are some of the most responsible people, led by Hrvoje Sarinic. As far as the term "modus vivendi" is concerned, Granic said that the first stage in the peace process included the truce and opening of communications. He said that Croatia understood the term "modus vivendi" as the reintegration of the UN Protected Areas into Croatia through a dynamic process, which should be followed by the full materialization of the Resolution 871. He said that if all that was fulfilled, the final agreement would be reached in the London conference.

"As far as the crime committed in Stupni Do is concerned, we condemn this act and are waiting for the investigation to be completed," Granic said. Granic explained that no territorial concessions in Bosnia-Herzegovina were required from the Croats and Muslims.

In connection with the talks with Silajdzic, Granic said that a possible cease-fire should include the materialization of all previous agreements made between the Croats and the Muslims, adding that the Muslims now wanted to occupy Croatian territories since they had made an agreement with the Serbs about a possible independent Bosnian state.

Granic said that the Croatian Government condemned the destruction of the bridge in Mostar, no matter who had done it. In connection with Zoric's question about Mock's initiative, Granic answered that the Croatian state had to have full control over refugee camps because of the previous bad experiences.

Assassination Attempt on Local Opposition Leader

LD2911154193 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 29 Nov 93

[Text] The Social-Democratic Party of Croatia [SDP—former Communists] has issued a statement saying among other things:

Violence and terrorism are incompatible with the civilization and culture of the Croatian people, but it seems that in our midst there are those who do not have Croatia in their hearts. In the latest terrorist attack in Vis, explosives were planted on the vehicle belonging to the Vis SDP chairman and the town councilor, Sime Zupcic. The vehicle was parked in front of Zupcic's house, which has also sustained damage. This is unfortunately only one in a series of terrorist attacks. We would like to recall that this has been the second assassination attempt against the Vis SDP chairman. In the first attempt his house was set on fire.

Nothing can nor will disturb the SDP in its struggle for a democratic Croatia within its internationally recognized borders, for a Croatia in which life will be better and more peaceful. We consider the assassination [attempt] an attack on the Croatian political scene, democracy, and its legal order. We expect the authorities and relevant government bodies to do everything to find and punish the perpetrators of the terrorist act, the statement by the SDP signed by chairman Ivica Racan says.

Daily Profiles Krajina's Martic

AU2911130193 Belgrade VECERNJE NOVOSTI in Serbo-Croatian 20 Nov 93 p 4

[Report by Dragan Vujicic: "Mile—the People's Man"]

[Text] The news that came in yesterday from Knin that Milan Martic, current minister of the interior of the republic of Serb Krajina, has decided to run for president after lengthy persuasion by the people of Krajina, can be seen as a surprise. It is known that hitherto Martic had refused to get involved in the political life of the republic of Serb Krajina, and also that in August 1992 he renounced his rank of general, which had been bestowed on him by the president of the republic of Serb Krajina after the successful breakthrough of the corridor. Until now, Martic has been saying: "What do I need ranks and titles for, if the people believe in me?"

What made this courageous and honorable man take up the race for such an unrewarding post on his 40th birthday (he was born on 18 November 1954 in the village of Zagorovic near Knin)?

Why Martic?

First of all, one of the reasons is the current political confusion preceding the first multiparty elections in the republic of Serb Krajina. It has been a long time since the Serbian Democratic Party [SDS] of Krajina split into several factions, among which there is a damaging rivalry, and about which Milan Babic, chairman of the SDS of Krajina, has also warned. Also, certain parts of the republic of Serb Krajina have been put under pressure by demands for autonomy that are not very obvious, but in Knin one can feel antagonism between the eastern part of the republic (rich in oil and wheat fields) and the western part. In addition, another reason for this disunity is that the unification of the SDS in all the Serbian states failed to happen in time, so that the new party did not establish itself because it simply did not have enough time. It is a public secret that in the coming elections nobody is strong enough to win an absolute majority. The probable outcome will be various

coalitions that would be quite disappointing for many parts of the republic. It is not believed in Knin that Babic, Paspalj, Goran Hadzic [Serbian Krajina leaders], or any possible outsider is strong enough to win a majority.

Martic's biography says that he was born in the village of Zagorovici, where he graduated elementary school. He graduated high school in Knin, and worked for a while for TVIK [the Screw Factory of Knin]. After that he moved to Sibenik, where he became a policeman, and then, several years later, went to Zagreb where he graduated from the College of Internal Affairs. He returned to Knin as an inspector.

Martic was the first, in July 1990, to refuse to attach the notorious Croatian chequered coat of arms [sahovnica] to his cap, and he purged the Secretariat of Internal Affairs [SUP] in Knin of 16 young Croatian police officers, who had tried to organize a parade under the infamous Ustasha [Croatian World War II fascist] symbol in Knin. Thanks to him, it also happened that during the visit of Josip Boljkovac, the then Croatian minister of the interior, to Knin, the people took to the streets to defend the Krajina militia.

Because of the words "this is the people's militia, and it will act in compliance with the people's will," as stated to Croatian Television reporters in front of the Knin police station on 29 November 1990, Martic lost his job in the Ministry of Internal Affairs [MUP] of Croatia. But the people followed him, and the final breakup between the Croatian authorities and the Serbian people came about.

Distinguished General

In the past three years Martic's commando units have taken part in all the battles of the Serbian people, starting from [the Serbian militia's ambush on Croatian police in] Plitvice up to the latest clashes. After the fighting for the corridor, in which the commando brigade of the Krajina SUP lost 36 soldiers and three pilots, because of his courage and success Martic was promoted to general, which he subsequently renounced. At the same time, Martic has been actively involved in the political life of the republic of Serb Krajina, and "Mile's [abbreviation for Milan] word usually goes," as people say. He has also continued the struggle for the unity of the Serbian people, and is the harshest critic of all the attempts by the international community to move against the Serbs.

In the town of Novigrad in April 1993, at the meeting of the republic of Serb Krajina Assembly to discuss the Vance-Owen plan, when the entire Yugoslav diplomatic corps was about to go down on its knees, Martic stood up and said: "Lord Owen is a swindler, and no Serbian politician should negotiate with such a man. As for NATO planes over Bosnia—they should be shot down!"

These words uttered in a momentary emotional outburst because of the obvious intention of the international community to crush the struggle of the Serbian people for their rights, have encouraged the careworn people of Krajina.

In the republic of Serbian Krajina everybody calls this man simply Mile. He moves in Knin and throughout Krajina freely and without bodyguards, because, as he himself says, he is guarded by the people.

[Box, p 4]

The Croatian MUP is offering a reward of several hundred German marks for Martic's head. So far several Croatian interior ministers have tried to capture him, but unsuccessfully.

The first attempt to assassinate Martic was carried out just before the tourist complex of Plitvice was taken. A group of 56 of Boljkovac's men set out to capture Martic, but they returned to Zagreb empty-handed. They told Minister Boljkovac: "It is impossible to capture him, as the entire Krajina is protecting him."

Boljkovac's successor, Milan Brezak, did not have any more luck. He chose Zoran Mircic, an adventurer from Belgrade, to carry out the assassination. But Mircic double-crossed his employers and surrendered himself to the Krajina MUP, so that the only thing that this resulted in was the well-known documentary "Call the Godfather for Murder"—which was the codeword for assassination.

Still, the most spectacular event was the arrest of Martic in the village of Bosanska Otoka near the town of Bosanska Krupa. He was arrested in a Land Rover with three aides. Both the Muslims and the Croats wanted to lynch him. He was released only after they saw that the commando brigade from Knin had set out to rescue their legendary leader. At the time, in August 1991, the war was just about to break out in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and with the tacit consent of the members of the Bosnia-Herzegovina MUP Martic was literally kidnapped from the police station by his commandos, and taken back to Knin.

Nuclear Station Shut Down After Equipment Check

AU2611165393 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 26 Nov 93

[Excerpts] As we have already reported, Krsko nuclear power station switched itself off automatically this morning. In view of this, a news conference was held in Krsko this afternoon that was also attended by Boris Sovic, state secretary for energy. He said that despite the shutdown, there will be no problems in supplying electricity. Our reporter Irena Majce interviewed the director of the station, Stane Rozman, about this event:

[Rozman] Yes, the power station automatically shut down at 0830 this morning, that is, 26 November. The shutdown occurred during the special inspection of vital equipment, more precisely, the stop valves on the steam turbine. We carry out this test monthly to check the ability of these valves to perform their function. On this occasion this sequence was not carried out properly, which can happen owing to a partial failure of either electronics or some other part of the regulatory system and that is what happened. The irregularity itself led to the activation of the automatic protection of the reactor and, thus, the shutdown of the power station. [passage omitted]

The event has been classified in the lowest category on the International Atomic Agency scale, that is category 0. We plan that the station will be reconnected to the network in the shortest possible time. Roughly, we have planned a 48-hour shutdown to overcome these minor irregularities. [passage omitted]

Reasons for TV Strike Examined

AU2911164493 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 23 Nov 93 p 2

[Report by Vesna R. Marincic: "Italian Minority Would Like To Have Its Program and Its Network"]

[Excerpts] Ljubljana 22 November— The team of the Italian- language program on Koper Television went on strike five days ago, that is to say, for that long they have been playing old programs subtitled (constantly) by a notation: We are on strike because Slovene Television has denied us autonomy. With the permission of the strike committee they are reading news at the usual newscast (Telegiornale) time, and besides this, also by permission, organizing studio talks with guests every evening. The topic is always the same: Slovenia is suppressing the Italian minority in Istria, because the Council of Radio and Television Slovenia, signed Rudi Seligo, president, has ordered Janez Lombergar, chief editor of the television programs of Radio and Television Slovenia, to write a new proposal for a new conception of the Television Koper-Capodistria program.

It, therefore, seems that Television Slovenia, that is to say, its council, has no right to interfere in the Italian minority program, but can shape the programs that are in the same television house prepared by the Slovene editorial board. In other words, one gets an impression that the program of Koper Television for the Italian minority is not a concern of Slovene Television and its editors but has, nobody knows when, become an independent and autonomous minority television station. The emphasis is being placed on the word minority, because this is a sensitive and vulnerable word, a trump card in the game.

This Is Not a Strike but a Violation of Obligations

[Passage omitted] On Monday [22 November] Rudi Seligo in the name of the council sent to the strikers, about 40 of them, a letter in which he informed them that this was already "the fifth day of the 'strike'; however, by noon 22 November the council and the management have received no strikers' demands yet." Therefore, "this behavior of yours cannot be perceived as a legal strike but as a violation of work obligations."

The warm-ups for the strike were the interviews (in the program Bersaglio or the Target) with people who have contributed toward this "behavior" and who are vitally interested in the Italian minority winning its own television station. The talks with such people, among whom are also numerous Slovenes (for example Claudio Palcich, president of the Slovene Cultural and Economic Chamber in Trieste) are taking place day after day, and if they continue at such a pace, Slovenia will in two weeks time turn into a country that is unparalleled in Europe in violation of minority rights. Namely, Ponteco company, which has announced "the blackout" of its transmitters, is duly broadcasting these programs to Italy, all the way to Padova and even further.

Ponteco's Trade With "Foreign" Transmitters

Ponteco, a Trieste company that lives off Koper Television—namely it keeps it stocked with the commercials that it is gathering all over Italy and then broadcasting them back to Italy via Koper Television—will lose its purpose as soon as the Slovene and the Italian televisions (RAI) regulate the relations that Italy used to maintain with Belgrade. Namely, if RAI finally introduces programming for the Slovene minority in Italy, it will also broadcast the program of the Television Slovenia, that is, of the Koper Television and its program for the Italian minority, via its transmitters. This will then be the end of Ponteco and its transmitters. [passage omitted]

Federal

FRY Claims UN Sanctions Amount to 'Genocide'

LD2611035693 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2246 GMT 25 Nov 93

[Text] Belgrade, November 25 (TANJUG)—The sanctions imposed by the United Nations Security Council against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia are violating the fundamental human rights of the Yugoslav citizens, including their right to life, and they are groundlessly implemented also against the Serbs and Montenegrins living outside Yugoslavia.

This is the essence of the letters sent by the Yugoslav Government and its Minister of Education and Culture to U.N. Secretary-General Butrus Butrus-Ghali as (contribution) to a debate on human rights in the U.N. General Assemby.

The Yugoslav Government pointed out the major difficulties which the sanctions have caused in Yugoslavia and especially noted the dramatic fall of the living standard and the rise in the mortality rate among children and adults.

"The sanctions are violating not only the right to development but also the fundamental human right to life," the Yugoslav Government said in the letter.

"The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is even denied the right to service its foreign debt and maintain normal relations with its creditors and international financial institutions," it said.

According to reports by the World Bank, social product in former Yugoslavia was 3,000 dollars per capita in 1990 and it will drop to merely 200 or 250 dollars by the end of the year, the government said in the letter. In 1992, industrial production dropped 23 percent and the decline will continue with another 40 percent this year. Of the labour force of 2.2 million, 16 percent were unemployed last year while as many as 45 percent were laid off this year. The sanctions also triggered rampant inflation, which last year reached (?the figure) of 9.300 percent and is expected to be measured in millions (?or) even billions this year, the government said.

"The implementation and continuation of such collective punishment for purely political reasons is a criminal and highly immoral act which can be described as genocide," the Yugoslav Government said in the letter to Butrus-Ghali.

Minister of Education and Culture Slavko Gordic pointed out in a separate letter to another form of crime against Serbs and Montenegrins in their countries of immigration. Gordic cited the example of France, which has abolished supplementary classes in the native tongue for Yugoslav children. He said that textbooks for Yugoslav children in Germany were barred from the country despite the fact that they are exempted from the sanctions.

Besides, some German and French history textbooks contain distorted information about the Serbs, who are demonized as the main culprits for the war and the perpetrators of all crimes in the territory of former Yugoslavia, (?said) Gordic.

He appealed to Butrus-Ghali to help end the practice of tightening the sanctions by implementing them against Yugoslavs living in other countries because in that way one U.N. document would annul other conventions which grant a wide protection of human rights and freedoms.

The U.N. sanctions against Yugoslavia were imposed against Yugoslavia on May 30 last year because of its alleged involvement in the civil war among Moslems, Serbs and Croats in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Article Suggests Germany Giving Croatia Planes

AU2911143693 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 24 Nov 93 p 9

[Article by Miroslav Lazanski: "Unmarked Planes Are Flying Over the Embargo"]

[Text] Has Croatia illegally imported parts for military aircraft from Germany? Judging by the latest articles in the press, this is more than obvious. Several days ago, the Zagreb weekly GLOBUS published a very interesting article about the fact that Croatia had succeeded in renovating its assembly line for supersonic aircraft. According to the article, Croatia now has 40 to 60 military aircraft of various types, and that the Croatian aviation has approximately 50 planes, MiG-23s, Su-25s, and MiG-29s, but also planes from the former Yugoslav People's Army (Galeb, Jastreb and Orao), which were reportedly left behind by the Yugoslav People's Army. According to the GLOBUS allegations, the Yugoslav People's Army "withdrew from Croatia in headlong flight," leaving behind about 60 planes and approximately 400 air-to-air and over 800 ground-to-air missiles at the Zmaj Maintenance Plant near Velika Gorica.

Spare parts for aircraft engines and various electronic equipment were reportedly found at the underground facilities of the former Yugoslav People's Army military storehouse in Busovaca in Bosnia, so that—according to GLOBUS—it was not difficult for the Croatian experts to assemble the first Croatian military planes. In order to support these allegations, GLOBUS also published an "exclusive" report from the first Croatian aircraft manufacturing plant, a secret facility, in which MiG-21 supersonic fighter-bombers are assembled.

What is true of all this, what is the background of this article, especially now, when the international community is to a certain extent changing its attitude toward all warring factions in the bloody Yugoslav drama, and when Croatia is under the permanent threat of sanctions?

Ridiculous Allegations

It is not a pure coincidence that the article was published in a paper that claims to be independent, in which nothing is published without a certain political and financial background. Croatia received from Germany the parts for 36 complete planes (MiG-21), and this transaction must obviously be covered up, since it is an act of violation of the embargo on exporting weapons to the former Yugoslav republics. The facts are merciless: From the total number of four MiG-21 planes, which "deserted" to the Croatian side, one is still in Austria (the first deserter), two were shot down during war operations, so that Croatia should officially have only one plane now. This is obviously not the case.

As far as the Zmaj Maintenance Plant is concerned, five Yugoslav People's Army officers and 10 civilians rescued army property to the value of $1 billion: the parts of, or 43 already assembled military aircraft (among them nine Iraqi MiG-23s and 12 Iraqi MiG-21s, which happened to be in for maintenance at Zmaj at the moment sanctions were introduced against Iraq), further, the complete documentation, technical equipment, machines, measuring instruments, tools, computers (except for one), even the historical exhibit of the very old Russian plane of the type Pe-2. What was left were the empty halls and storehouses, the workshop with several old lathes, the kitchen and the galvanization department. For days hundreds of trucks took out of Zmaj everything that could have been taken out. This means that the GLOBUS allegation about "80 aircraft left behind" is simply ridiculous. What is more, GLOBUS published in those days, at the beginning of 1992, an article in which it accused the Yugoslav People's Army of "the total robbery" of the Zmaj plant, which by their own allegations amounted to $1 billion. One year after that, GLOBUS speaks about "the presents" left behind in Zmaj. A pretext for Germany, which violated the embargo, has to be found somehow....

What does General Mende say?

Regarding the allegations that the former Yugoslav People's Army left behind Orao, Jastreb and Galeb aircraft, it can be stated that they are also false, since not a single plane of this type deserted the Yugoslav People's Army, nor was any left behind at any of the airports. It is hardly likely that Croatia has adapted one of the planes from a museum for use.

The former Yugoslav People's Army took away from Pleso Airport (Zagreb) everything it could. The air defense unit with Kub air-to-ground missiles also left the airport, so that it is not possible that 800 air-to-ground missiles "were forgotten." What is more, all the Warsaw Pact countries together did not have as many as 800 such missiles, apart from the USSR, of course. There were not 400 air-to-air missiles at Pleso Airport, because this airport was the base for the combined transport regiment, which consists of transporter planes and helicopters, and they do not use such missiles.

As far as the former military Yugoslav People's Army Air Force and Air Defense storehouse in Busovaca in Bosnia is concerned, the evacuation was carried out according to priorities: electronic equipment and engines were taken out first and after that spare parts. After everything had been taken out, the facility was shelled from military planes. Of the things that remained at the site of fire and which the Croatian Defense Council units succeeded in taking out, the only valuable things were truck tires and leather jackets for pilots (for new dandies in new aviation). The tires can probably be used, but the jackets bear the insignia of the Yugoslav People's Army, so they can hardly be used by new owners.

"Exclusive" pictures from the first Croatian airplane factory, in which MiG-21 are being assembled, were actually taken at the underground facility at Split Airport, which can store up to 16 military planes (there is the same facility at Podgorica Airport). Whether the Croatian aviation will be happy with the MiG-21, or whether the MiG-23 and MiG-29 will also arrive from Germany, does not depend only on Croatian wishes. It is true that Germany wants to get rid of the MiG-23, because its maintenance is very complicated, but it wants money for the MiG-29. The German General Bernhard Mende, the commander of the 5th air force division, stated recently that the MiG-29s that had been taken over from the former East Germany were excellent planes that could replace a new fighter.

In other words, planes are not toys and cannot be hidden easily, which means that a nice story has to be invented to justify their existence. At the same time it is important to "make the Yugoslav side busy" by looking for the culprit who "left the planes behind."

Serbia

Draskovic Views Political Prospects

LD3011000393 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2153 GMT 29 Nov 93

[Text] Nis, 29 Nov (TANJUG)—Serbian Renewal Movement Chairman Vuk Draskovic said in Nis this evening that if the Socialist Party of Serbia wins the elections on 19 December there will be no salaries or pensions in January, and that lies and force are the two main foundations of the authorities.

At a Serbian Democratic Alliance [Depos] promotion rally in the full house in Cair, Draskovic said that Depos is the political association in Serbia which the world wants to see win the election. Calling on the voters to vote for Depos, he promised "heating for all homes, schools, creches, and enough gas, oil, and petrol for the whole of Serbia."

He stressed that Russia will help Serbia and that Depos will not encounter a U.S. or any other veto in the United Nations.

Only those politicians who will be greated equally warmly by [Russian President] Boris Yeltsin, Bill Clinton, [French President] Francois Mitterrand, and by a Greek, Italian, or Bulgarian president can get economic and diplomatic support from the world.

Promises by such politicans that they will, after the election victory, remove border posts at Kumanovo and bring down the borders on the Drina are not unrealistic.

In Draskovic's opinion western Herzegovina, on the right bank of the Neretva, should be given to the Croats, "for it has never been ours," and the Serbs must to make peace with the Muslims, "for they are our brothers of the same origin and the same language."

Serbs Block Romanian Tugboat, Barges on Danube

AU2911130893 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1100 GMT 29 Nov 93

[Text] The [Romanian] tugboat Medias, which belongs to the Giurgiunav SA Danube shipping company, and its eight barges carrying German goods intended for third countries has been blocked since yesterday in the Belgrade sector of the Danube by the White Rose and New Byzantium Serb non-governmental organizations, Mr. Bone Stan, director of the Giurgiunav SA company reported.

Protest 'Environmental Aggression'

LD2911190993 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1242 GMT 29 Nov 93

[Text] Belgrade, 29 Nov (TANJUG)—The Danube blockade headquarters [in Belgrade] today lodged a sharply-worded protest with the governments of Germany and Albania because of the unprecedented "environmental aggression against the Serbian nation" caused by the dispatch of a train carrying highly toxic substances through our country.

The Danube blockade headquarters said in a statement that charges should be brought against the Yugoslav bodies "that had permitted such banditry."

The relevant authorities, the statement says, ignored the blockade headquarters' warnings about ships carrying suspicious cargoes on the Danube.

Such events justify the blockade of the Danube, the statement concluded.

Macedonia

Interior Ministry Delegation Pays Visit to Turkey

AU2911165693 Skopje MILS-NEWS in English 29 Nov 93

[Unattributed report: "Meetings on High Level"]

[Text] Delegation of the Macedonian Internal Ministry, led by Deputy Minister Kiril Sarevski, is staying in a working visit to Turkey. The visit is a part of the wider cooperation of the internal ministries of the two countries. The delegation was received by the Turkish internal minister, by the general director of the defense department, and it also visited the police academy and other institutions.

Foreign Minister Visits Rome To Meet CSCE Officials

AU2911175493 Skopje MILS-NEWS in English 29 Nov 93

[Unattributed report: "Coming CSCE Meeting"]

[Text] Macedonian Foreign Minister Stevo Crvenkovski flew to Rome yesterday, where he will lead the Macedonian delegation on the CSCE ministers' meeting. He is expected to meet with as many as possible of his counterparts from 53 CSCE member countries. Macedonian diplomats are included in the meeting as observers. The issue [words indistinct] of representative, ambassador Norman Anderson will submit his report on Macedonia. The report, inform sources [say], is favorable.

Commentary Warns Autonomy Will Create 'Ghetto'

AU2911130393 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 20 Nov 93 p 4

[Commentary by Aleksandar Damovski: "A Result of the Balkan Syndrome"]

[Text] It was certainly not by accident that the question of political and territorial autonomy for the Albanians in Macedonia, reiterated by their political representatives nearly two years after the referendum, as well as the arguments for and against autonomy in the state, were once again brought to the fore. "The political capital," according to what the PDP [Party for Democratic Prosperity] and the NDP [National Democratic Party] leaders said, referring to the results of last year's referendum on autonomy, was once again reiterated in the Council for Interethnic Relations of the Macedonian Parliament. These politicians' attempts to reestablish this issue in the international institutions, by playing the well-known game of the so-called special status of minorities in accordance with the Hague documents for former Yugoslavia, remained without any effect. Therefore, their "unexplained absence" from the discussions scheduled with the mediator Gerd Ahrens, within the framework of the conference on former Yugoslavia, was not accidental. We found out from unofficial sources that the proposed document for signing the settled matters never even mentioned a kind of political and territorial autonomy for the Albanians in Macedonia.

Economically Unjustified

The idea of the political and territorial autonomy of the Albanians in Macedonia was carried out by the PDP and NDP alongside their request for a constitutional definition of the ethnic Albanians as a nation, not a nationality, let alone national minority. At the same time they were constantly insisting on the idea of a civil society. It was true that nobody could understand that jumble of incompatible requests. The autonomies, a status devised particularly in former Yugoslavia for the minorities in Croatia, within those international associations on which the PDP and NDP consistently insist, refer to a state with national minorities. The idea of autonomy is simply contrary to the ambitions and requests for a statehood nation or to the demands for proportional representation; it is contrary to the publicly declared resolve to establish democratic and civil equality, where national feelings are placed in second rank. The Macedonian Constitution provides an opportunity to define that civil equality, to which such PDP and NDP aims, as well as efforts, are in plain opposition, perhaps on the basis of the same Constitution, where the collectives have not been forgotten. The size of the population in Macedonia is not sufficient for territorial and political autonomy, said Mirjana Najcevska from the Center for ethnic relations. When we talk about regionalism, about the construction of certain administrative and political territories, then we have in mind larger entities. This partition of territory is not compatible with the basic ideas of European integration. Through it, the economic logic for the existence of such a unit is lost.

The question of autonomy, at least here in Macedonia, is closely connected with the nations' right to self-determination and to secession. In the latest documents for minority rights these two things cannot go side-by-side. Simply, the given rights are irreconcilable with any form of risk to state and territorial integrity. At the same time, Najcevska said, there should be a strict definition of the minorities' responsibility in the sense of loyalty to the state. "We are talking about rational loyalty, living by rules adopted jointly. There is a part in the UN documents in which this loyalty is insisted upon, as it is incompatible with the activity directed against the integrity, sovereignty, and the whole territory of the state," Najcevska said.

"Political Idiocy"

On the other hand, the absence of laws on local self-management, the long period taken to create assemblies in Tetovo and Gostivar, the relations between those who make requests and those who satisfy them (the Albanians and the Government), the absence of a consensus on several issues of importance for the state and the indirect justification of those who perform actions against the constitutional order in Macedonia, only serve to fuel the atmosphere of misunderstanding and to add to rational and irrational fears.

Ivan Tosevski, the government representative in the aforementioned discussions with Gerd Arens, said that by existing international standards, political and territorial autonomy have never been mentioned. The crux is also in the fact that local autonomy, already offered by the government with the law on local self-management, is related to minorities' rights. "And they, the PDP and NDP leaders, still insist on creating a state that is a kind of political idiocy," Tosevski observed.

When we talk about those standards, the law that is being offered on local self-management to a great extent defines the rights of minorities, wherever they are a majority. That is the so-called functional autonomy within local self-management, where there is adequate autonomy in the settlement of local issues, and in the use of languages and signs. There is another misunderstanding, another artificially produced fear from the word autonomy, which fails to take into account existing knowledge and the readiness on both sides to define and solve these issues. The law on local self-management, in the French version, talks of autonomy, and in Great Britain it has been defined as self-management. Essentially, it has to do with the functional autonomy of the local units.

Persistence in realizing the "political capital" and the probable realization of that capital, according to all previous experience, will mean another, this time perhaps the last, ghetto in the state.

I believe that it is all a result of the characteristic separatist syndrome in this region of the Balkans, which must be overcome quickly. In contrast, what we hear from our neighbors, after similar analyses, are words of warning, and according to all the facts, it seems that these arrive in a single package. It is down to us alone to prevail over this political dilettantism.